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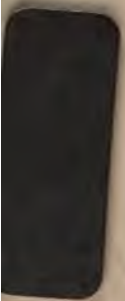
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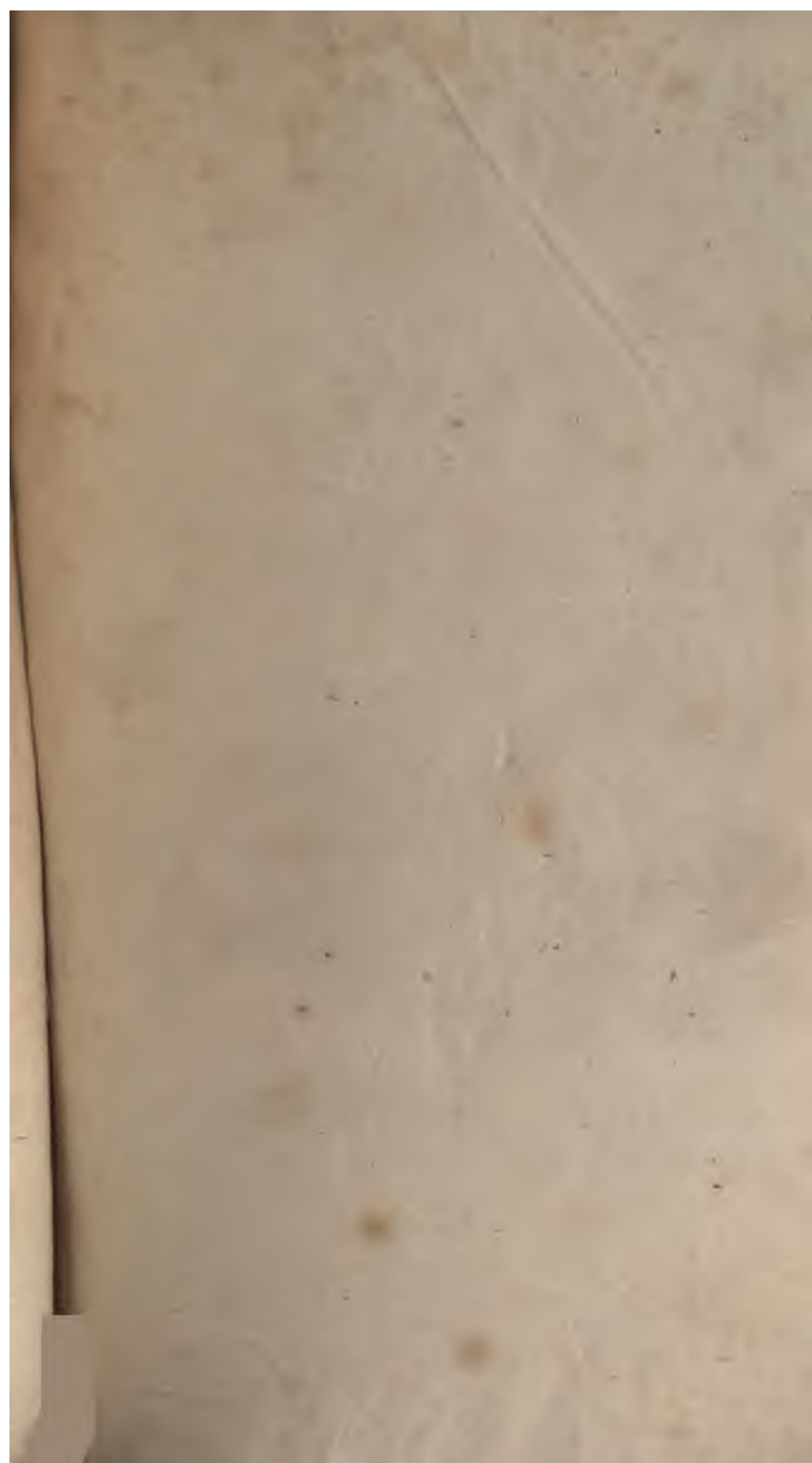
To  
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CAROLINE,  
*Queen of England.*

*From a Painting taken from Life by A. Wivell in June 1820, in the possession of the Public*

*London, Published by Tho.<sup>s</sup> Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, July 22 1820.*

*Memoirs of*  
**CAROLINE**  
*Queen Consort*  
 OF  
**ENGLAND,**  
*from*  
 the earliest period of her Eventful Life,  
 BY  
**ROBERT HUISE ESQ.**  
**VOL. 2.**



*Her Majesty receiving Addresses at Brandenburg House*

L O N D O N,

*Printed by Thos. Kelly, 15, Paternoster Row.*



**MEMOIRS**  
*OF HER LATE MAJESTY*  
**CAROLINE,**  
*Queen of Great Britain:*  
EMBRACING  
**EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE**  
SCENES OF HER EVENTFUL LIFE,  
FROM  
INFANCY TO THE PERIOD OF HER DECEASE,  
INTERSPERSED WITH  
**ORIGINAL LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS,**  
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.  
**LIKEWISE A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF HER MAJESTY'S**  
ILLNESS, LAST SAYINGS, LAMENTED DEATH,  
FUNERAL PROCESSION, &c. &c.

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**By ROBERT HUISH, Esq.,**  
*Author of Memoirs of the Princess Charlotte, History and Reign of*  
*George the Third, &c.*

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IN TWO VOLUMES,  
VOL. II.  
EMBELLISHED WITH ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS.

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London:  
PRINTED FOR T. KELLY, 17, PATERNOSTER-ROW,  
*And sold by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom.*

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a time be led away by the noble and generous disposition of their nature, to commit those breaches of the peace which are contrary to the well-being of an established government, yet let it be considered that a foreign enemy has only to shew himself with a menacing power against the existence and the integrity of the nation, than, on the spur of the moment, one sentiment, one impulse, one noble ardour, appears to actuate the whole body of the people ; and although they may differ within themselves in regard to national affairs, they still exhibit on all occasions loyalty to their King, submission to the laws, and devotion to that Constitution which was gained by the blood of their forefathers, and which they are bound to leave to their progeny in its own hallowed and original purity.

The historian, in casting his eye over the events which happen on the great theatre of the world, gladly seizes upon those which carry with them a paramount interest and importance. He traces them from their source, through every ramification, till the final effects display themselves, diffusing weal or woe over the congregated mass of the people. Many, indeed, and highly important

and unexampled in its consequences, with any that can be produced in the whole range of the English history. Many may not see the dreadful effects which may flow from this transaction, and, viewing it in a particular light, may tamper with it as a thing of mere popular curiosity ; but no real friend of his country, no sincere lover of the throne, no manly, no high-minded assertor of female character and of female virtue, can possibly view it in any other light, than as an event of the deepest interest, and of the greatest importance, affecting the peace and welfare of the country.

The task before us is of the most delicate and painful nature ; it demands from us a greater portion of calmness, of patience, and of attention, than any other question which ever came under our consideration. We know that every sentiment that is uttered relative to the presumed guilt or innocence of the illustrious Personage, is, according to the view which it takes of the subject, an appeal to the prejudices and the passions of every individual ; but it is not our intention to enter into an extraneous nor a diffuse investigation of those points which bear not immediately upon the question be-

one single hair of the head of innocence. The hour is not far distant when we shall stand at a more awful bar than an earthly one ; then the judgment which we have meted to others, will be meted to ourselves.

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But it is the living that feel the loss of those who are no more amongst them, and no sooner had our late venerable and truly amiable monarch been gathered to his fathers, than circumstances arose not only of a political but private nature, which placed the country in a state of ferment and disquiet. Amongst those circumstances, the peculiar situation of the Queen Consort of England appeared to claim a paramount attention, and certainly throughout the annals of this country it is impossible to find any case analogous to that which presented itself in the person of the Queen Consort of England on the demise of George III., at a time when her claim to the crown, as the consort of the King, in succession, became indisputable. At that period, we find her an exile from the country, living as it were in a land of her own adoption, and hereft of every claim and privilege to which her illustrious rank entitled her. To enter at this time into an investigation of the causes which impelled her to take refuge in a foreign country, would not only be diffuse, but could only be regarded as a mere repetition of those circumstances which are too unhappily in the recollection of the majority of the people of this nation. She left the country leaving behind her an only child, attached to her by the strongest bonds of affection, ever woven round the human heart: she parted from the dearest object she held on earth, unconscious, whether in the womb of futurity that moment was

sons remain enveloped in uncertainty; yet had it not been for particular indignities and affronts which her majesty conceived were offered to her, and to which she could not conscientiously submit, without compromising her dignity as queen of one of the first kingdoms of the world, and her character as a female, it is perhaps no vague supposition, that her majesty would have remained in a state of comparative obscurity, nor have boldly rushed into the very presence of those individuals by whom she conceived herself to be so openly insulted and degraded. Extremes in all cases bear with them a positive degree of danger, and in no point is an extreme more to be avoided than in that which bears a particular reference to the feelings of the human heart; in which the nicest principles which constitute the bonds of society are not only materially concerned, but without the practice of which all virtue, all decorum, all morality, may be considered as a mere empty sound. There are periods in life in which forbearance wears the hue of criminality, and the innocent may be goaded on to that keen sense of suffering, that nature appears on a sudden to give them additional power, and they burst in an unexpected moment into the presence of those who are their secret and interested accusers,—braving them to a verification of the imputed guilt, and, in the bold and undaunted tone which innocence only can use, demanding an acquittal or death.

from my dear Old England, I can assure you it has been the first real happy moment I felt, having received such satisfactory information respecting the feelings of the people of England towards me. It has been the most gratifying communication to my mind, and I trust to Heaven I shall ever continue to deserve their good opinion. My traducers and enemies in England have again held secret inquisition at Milan, through the means of spies and many old servants who have been sent from the house for bad conduct.

“ A Mr. C——, Mr. P——, a Colonel B——, and Lord S——, have been making all sorts of inquiry into my private conduct. My legal advisers were informed of this in April last, and I should have gone to London at that period, had I not been otherwise advised, it being the wish of my legal advisers that they should first see me in France. I came to Lyons for that purpose, and after waiting anxiously their arrival for some weeks, I found they could not meet me. The air being too cold for my health, I took the resolution of fixing my winter residence at Marseilles, where I have been two months, and expected to see my legal advisers, but I have been again disappointed, and Heaven knows when they will be able to meet me. I have been much alarmed about a rumour relating to our ever-beloved and lamented king's health; in the event of any thing happening to our reverend monarch, I put

Baron Ompteda, the Hanoverian ambassador, whose name ought to be branded with infamy wherever it is known or mentioned.

This man had been most graciously and hospitably received by her royal highness, he had insinuated himself into her confidence,—he had partaken largely of her liberality—he had passed several months at a time under her roof—this man, not indeed the envoy of Hanover to this country, but to the Holy See, was discovered not merely spying into her actions—bribing strangers to watch her, and even bribing her own servants, but it was found out that he employed a smith to pick the locks of her writing desk, in order to examine any papers that might be in her possession. Unluckily for him, that which he found proved that he had been on a false scent, and demonstrated the innocence, instead of the guilt, of the illustrious personage. A young naval officer to whom the transaction became known, felt incensed and indignant at such a base attempt. No wonder that his passions should be excited, that he should feel warmly and forcibly, when such a proceeding was pursued towards his mistress and benefactress. Actuated by such feelings he demanded personal satisfaction, the baron being at that time beyond the bounds of his mission. He immediately made a movement—a backward movement—to *the city of Milan*, where he was vainly sought for in his fastnesses. Thus menaced he retreated to the mountains, where a sort of



leaving Marseilles on the 20th of this month, and shall return into Italy.

“ In case my presence should be necessary in England, I will come by sea, and not expose myself to the possibility of being badly received by the family of the Bourbons. The present king, when in a distressed situation, was well received by my late father’s court at Brunswick palace, and every comfort was offered to him : but such great personages have the talent to forget where they have received civilities. In a strange country, I think the daughter should at least have been kindly received, without pomp or parade, but in a friendly way ; that was all I expected, as I travelled *incognito*.

CAROLINE, Princess of Wales.”

Her royal highness on leaving Marseilles, directed her route towards Rome, and in letters received from her dated Rome, she complains of not having received any messenger from this government, announcing the demise of our late lamented sovereign. She appears to have been treated in the holy city with every species of indignity, and it was no sooner known that she was Queen Consort of England, than her guard of honour was withdrawn, because the British government had not acknowledged her under that title. Her majesty remonstrated against this act, and the following is a copy of a letter from the Secretary of State’s office, in Rome, to the Queen of England’s chamberlain, dated February 24, 1820:—

know that the Queen of England is in Rome, and in consequence cannot grant a guard to the same. Whenever the government of his holiness may receive from that of his majesty the King of England and Hanover, the usual notification upon the change that has taken place with the royal person in question, he will consider it an imperious duty to pay to the Queen of England all the honours due to her.

(Signed) "C. CARDINAL GONSALVI."

On the subject of this indignity to the queen, at Rome, Mr. Brougham said in the House of Commons—

"Baron Reding was now the Hanoverian minister at Rome, and his conduct towards her majesty was also worthy of remark. The moment it was notified by the bishops to the chief of the consistory at Rome, that her majesty's name was not inserted in the Liturgy, the body-guard which had previously been allowed to her, was immediately withdrawn: but that was not all—the heads of the government affected not to know her—they pretended that she came concealed as the Countess of Oldi, as she had before done; and because she was not acknowledged by this government, because slight and disrespect were offered to her by the ministers of her own country, they thought they would be justified in doing the same. But Baron Reding, the Hanoverian minister, went a great deal farther. He would not call

it was her positive intention to repair to England, with the least possible delay.

On the 1st of February, Mr. Sicard, formerly a member of the household of her majesty when Princess of Wales, and, since her departure to the Continent, acting as her agent in London, arrived at Dover, where he embarked immediately for France. While at Dover, he stated himself to be the bearer of letters to the queen; that he was directed to proceed in the first instance to Leghorn, and in the event of her majesty not being there, to seek her until he found her residence, and accompany her majesty to England with all possible speed.

Amongst the many marked indignities which the queen supposes to have received from the ministers, was the omission of her name in the Liturgy. This appears to have given deep and well-merited offence, for it was literally blazoning her majesty's disgrace within the walls of every church in the country; and although some clergymen, with an honest and upright zeal, did actually include her name in the Liturgy, yet the instances were solitary, and the general omission of it appeared to the people as a determination on the part of the ministers to mark the Queen of England as an improper person to be included in the prayers for the royal family.

On this subject, Mr. Canning said in the House of Commons—

“ So long as the late king was upon the throne,

preceded the other arrangements; it was the first step in the execution, but it was part of the whole, and part of the plan which the honourable and learned gentleman was confidently expected to carry into execution. It has been a part of the same arrangement, founded upon the consideration of the queen's continued residence abroad."

Now, with all due deference to the splendid talents of so accomplished a statesman, the reasons given by him for striking out her majesty's name from the Liturgy are lamentably deficient in that solidity of judgment, and that force of conviction, which in general distinguish his parliamentary speeches. Will Mr. Canning pretend to say, that the omission of the name of the Duke of Cumberland in the Liturgy on the accession of George III., was solely owing to his relation to the throne being changed? by the same parity of reasoning it might be urged that the name of the Duke of York ought to have been struck out of the Liturgy on the decease of the Princess Charlotte, for his relation to the throne was then evidently changed. It has been stated that there was nothing galling in the exclusion. How! was not the circumstance of the queen's name being struck out of the Liturgy, adduced by the government of the Pope,—the most contemptible and imbecile upon earth,—as a reason for not paying her majesty those honours to which her rank in life so justly entitled her? and, if

crease the tide of unpopularity which set in so strongly towards a certain quarter.

The first notice which parliament took of the situation of the queen, was on the 26th of February, when a most animated debate took place from which we insert the following extracts :—

*Mr. Hume* said, “ the British Parliament was now about to separate, and no one who had heard a noble lord a few days since expatiate on the advantages which this country had deriyed from the house of Brunswick, since its accession to the throne of these realms, could see without pain and surprise, that one near branch of that illustrious house, he meant our present queen, was left wholly unprovided for. He understood a proposition was to be submitted in the committee for a vote of credit to the amount of one-fourth of the civil list. This, however, he apprehended would not suffice to provide an adequate establishment for the queen, whose former allowance, as Princess of Wales, had ceased at the moment of his late majesty’s death. Was she then, the queen of this country, to be left wandering in beggary through foreign lands, or would not parliament rather make a provision for her support, in a manner suitable to her rank and station ? Suppose she were to land to-morrow in this country, what was to be her reception ? He was afraid there was not a military officer who would know in what manner he was to conduct himself, or understand in what situation he was placed. It appeared to him to be a most extra-

nuations, or infuse through any other channel particular notions into the public mind; but if there was any ground for crimination, no time ought to be lost in instituting an inquiry, and vindicating the monarchy of England from disgrace. He would not, for no better reason than the convenience of his majesty's ministers, vote the public money to a person not recognized as queen. It was desirable to know whether any communication had been made to her, informing her of the late king's death, and of the rank to which she was thereby exalted. If she was ignorant of these circumstances, in what a situation were they all placed by his majesty's ministers, and for purposes known only to themselves? The passing over the queen's name in the church service was directed by an order in council. Here then it must appear that ministers conceived they had some ground of suspicion, or they would not have adopted a proceeding which derogated from the respect otherwise due to the queen's rank and station. Under these circumstances, he could not suppress his conviction that somebody had been scandalously ill used—either the king had been betrayed, or the queen had been insulted. He might now be allowed to advert to another pretty general rumour, as to there having been an examination lately held, with the view of criminating the high person in question. Thus they found her name omitted in the Liturgy, her private conduct made

that of the king himself. It was not the less so because she was prayed for in no Liturgy, or because her name appeared in no order of council; or because no addresses either of condolence or congratulation were presented to her. He apprehended, that if the advisers of the crown should be enabled to advance what might be necessary for this purpose out of the civil list, there would be no need whatever to introduce the mention of her majesty's name. If, by limiting her expences, the crown should be pleased to pay 35,000*l.* a-year to her majesty, parliament, he thought, ought not to interfere; but he must at the same time state distinctly that he was wholly unacquainted with any grounds of suspicion. He refused his ears to all such rumours: as long as she was the king's consort, he knew and should treat her only in the character of queen-consort. He was wholly ignorant of any inquiries that had been instituted; he listened not to their reported results; nor would he suffer his mind to receive any sinister impressions. But if a charge should ever be brought forward, he would deal with it as became an honest member of parliament; and, he would endeavour to do justice between the parties most concerned; though, God knew, they were not the only parties that were concerned.

*Lord Castlereagh* was convinced that the manner in which the honourable and learned gentleman (*Mr. Brougham*) had mentioned a topic

word, and I should be still better pleased if I could get him to record it on the journals.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer* : That which was formerly granted to the Princess of Wales will now be payable to the queen, and to no other person.

*Mr. Hume* : What reason is there, I wish to know, for not stating specifically, that the annuity formerly granted to the princess of Wales shall, in future, be paid to her majesty the queen ? By such a statement the objection of the right honourable gentleman will at once be obviated.

*Mr. Lushington* : It would be impossible to insert those words, without introducing the name of every other person connected with the grant. If therefore one name were introduced, all the rest must be inserted. The resolution was agreed to.

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Her majesty, after a most fatiguing journey, reached Leghorn, where she was met by Mr. Sicard, her steward, now resident in this country, who announced to her the death of our late venerable sovereign ; from thence she proceeded to Rome, then to Pesaro, and finally to Milan. From Milan she despatched a courier to this country, announcing her intention, if possible, to reach the French coast, in order to be within reach of her advisers, by the first of May.

In furtherance of this intention, after the courier



rose, and gave directions that the Chevalier Vasali, one of her household, who is a gentleman of high character and distinguished merit, should be directed to prepare for proceeding forthwith with other letters, to London, which her majesty then sat down to write. In these letters her majesty complained of the interruptions which her courier had received—and added, that under such circumstances she had felt it necessary to send one of her own establishment to England. Her majesty also said, that if it were inconvenient for Mr. Brougham to join her at Geneva, she would, on the return of her messenger announcing that fact, immediately proceed to one of the ports of France, calculated to afford the most ready communication with England. She would be the more capable of this, as the rest which she had obtained in Geneva, added to the kind and liberal manner in which she had been treated by the inhabitants of that ancient and respectable town, and especially by some of our own countrymen, had tended greatly to improve her health, and to enable her to undergo further fatigues.

The Chevalier Vasali, in pursuance of the commands of her majesty, set off from Geneva early on the morning of Saturday, and by an extraordinary effort reached London on the Tuesday night following. The chevalier lost no time in executing the commission intrusted to him; and a consultation was held between Mr.

credit with discerning persons in this country, its production alone can determine. The Chevalier Vasali stopped in London two days to refresh himself from the effects of his journey, and again set out for the continent. On reaching Calais, he made a short stay at Dessin's hotel, and then proceeded by post. He calculated that he should reach Geneva in about five days, which he accomplished, and on the ensuing day her majesty commenced her route towards England.

A letter from a gentleman at Geneva to a correspondent in town, affords some interesting matter as to the state of her majesty's health, and as to the manner in which she had been received in that town. After describing the unexpected arrival of her majesty, and the curiosity which her presence had excited, he says—

“ Some of us Englishmen felt it our duty to pay our respects to the royal exile, and sent an humble request that we might be allowed that honour. Her majesty was at first so much indisposed as to be incapable of seeing us, but we were ultimately favoured with an audience. Her majesty received us with great condescension and affability, and made particular enquiries as to when we heard from England, of which she expressed herself a devoted admirer. She spoke with a sort of enthusiasm of the people and of the country, and said that her heart yearned with affection towards towards the one and the other. She said, she never should forget the kind, and liberal, and en-

reached Dover. He was soon recognized, and it was speedily rumoured that the queen was immediately expected, and that the worthy alderman had come down to meet her. A good deal of bustle prevailed; but the departure of Alderman Wood to the French coast on the ensuing morning disappointed the hopes which the people seemed to entertain. The honourable gentleman did not reach Calais till between six and seven o'clock in the evening. He immediately proceeded to Dessin's hotel, where we have already stated Lady Hamilton to have taken up her residence. It was rumoured that the worthy alderman had come over to meet the queen, and this rumour was confirmed by his setting out on the following morning towards Paris, at the same time with Lady Hamilton, who, it may be proper to state, received the appointment of one of her majesty's ladies in waiting, when her majesty announced her intention to return to England. The well-known benevolence and liberal character of Lady Hamilton sufficiently account for the readiness with which she quitted her native shores, in the performance of a duty which others, with feelings less charitable, and with minds more prone to receive unfavourable impressions, might have declined.

It was fixed that her majesty, if she visited Calais, should take up her residence at Dessin's hotel, which has repeatedly afforded accommodation to

royalty ; but it was possible that she herself might determine to stop at St. Omer's or Abbeville.

The arrival of Alderman Wood in the town of Calais produced among the English inhabitants (about one thousand in number) a considerable ferment. It was at once concluded that the long existing doubts as to the arrival of her majesty were about to be solved, and the subsequent departure of the worthy alderman, in company with Lady Hamilton, on the road towards Paris, confirmed the belief that her majesty would ultimately come among them. This belief led to a consideration as to the way in which she was to be received. Many were for evincing those sentiments of attachment in the strongest manner ; but in order that the matter might be arranged in a proper way, the following circular was issued :—

“ HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

“ Information having been received of the probable intention of her gracious majesty Caroline Queen of England to pass through this town, on her way to Dover, it is requested that the English inhabitants resident here may attend a public meeting to be holden at the Silver Lion, Rue Nœuf, on Thursday evening, at seven o'clock, for the purpose of taking into consideration the course which it may be most expedient to adopt, with a view to pay to her majesty that respect which is due from every British subject to one holding

so illustrious a rank, and in the maintenance of whose honour and dignity every Englishman must feel an imperative duty."

"*Calais, 22d May, 1820.*"

Independent of the private circulation of the above notice, it was likewise exhibited at the English reading-room, and several gentlemen expressed their intention of attending the meeting. In the course of the day, however, a person holding an official situation under the British government, and who had previously rendered himself somewhat unpopular, discovered the announcement, and, it is supposed, immediately proceeded to lay an information before the mayor, as in ten minutes after he had been seen reading it, the proprietor of the reading-room was cited before that gentleman. The mayor, who conducted himself with great politeness, asked several questions as to the persons by whom the notice had been prepared, and by whose orders it had been stuck up. The answer was, that one of the subscribers to the reading-room had left it, and that in placing it on his window, he (the proprietor) was unconscious of having been guilty of any offence. In return, he was informed, that it was contrary to the laws of France to summon a public meeting without the permission of the municipal officers; and further, that the exhibition of the notice in question without a stamp was improper. The mayor finally declared his

*“ To her most gracious majesty Caroline, Queen of Great Britain.*

*“ The humble Address of the English Inhabitants of the Town of Calais.*

*“ May it please your Majesty,—We, the inhabitants of the town of Calais, who are Englishmen, and who although absent from our native shores, still feeling that we owe every sentiment of loyalty and attachment to that family by which the sceptre of the United Kingdom has been so long and so gloriously wielded, beg leave most humbly to approach your majesty, and with great humility to offer to your majesty our congratulations on your near approach to that land over which we may confidently expect you will hold so high a sway, and in which we trust you will at all times experience that respect and loyalty, to which, by your illustrious rank, you are so eminently entitled. We could not reconcile it to our feelings as Englishmen, to suffer your majesty to pass through this town without offering to you this testimony of our anxious solicitude for your majesty’s welfare and happiness.”*

The temperate manner in which this was drawn up, at least proves that there was a strong desire to abstain from every topic calculated to excite opposition, even among the most fastidious.

The following letter from Geneva, presents us with some interesting particulars respecting her majesty, on her journey towards the English coast.

her majesty took under her protection while a child, is now a very fine young man, and accompanies her majesty to England, where she intends to place him at college. A great deal of jealousy has been excited in Italy, and stories have found their way to England relative to the exaltation of M. de Bergami by her majesty from the situation of courier to chamberlain—from apparently nothing to that of a baron covered with orders. But it is said that these decorations he gained by his bravery with the French army in the campaign in Russia and elsewhere; and besides the high recommendation the Queen received with him, she says that she found his family was of respectability, and she has lost no occasion to reward him for six years of tried services. He leaves her Majesty next week to join his sisters at Bologna. On receipt of despatches from England the Queen will set out immediately for Ostend, taking the route by Lausanne to Carlsruhe, and so on to Brussels."

From the following letter it appears that the English inhabitants at Boulogne were equally desirous with those of Calais, of testifying their loyalty to her majesty, on the event of her passing through that town. No doubt, however, exists, that had she passed through Boulogne, the French authorities would have used every exertion in their power to prevent any honours being paid her.

she reached on Saturday morning. Here her majesty retired to rest, and when at dinner, was agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, who by keeping the route pointed out by Count Vasali were thus enabled to fall in with her majesty without difficulty. They had missed the courier on the road, who, it was supposed, must have taken another direction. Her majesty received the worthy Alderman and Lady Hamilton with great condescension and kindness, and expressed much pleasure at receiving such an accession to her suite. The same evening they all pursued their course to Villeneuve which they reached the next day. Here, upon consultation with Mr. Alderman Wood, her majesty repeated her determination to proceed forthwith to England, there to assert her rights as queen, and openly to meet the malevolence of her secret enemies. She seemed to be perfectly acquainted with many of the scandalous stories which had been circulated to her prejudice. She treated them with contempt, and, relying upon the consciousness of her own innocence, she said she would fearlessly throw herself upon the justice and candour of her people. Indeed, she added, that she would long since have been in England, had not her advisers recommended her to wait until his majesty's government should afford her the means of going thither in a manner becoming her illustrious rank. Her majesty, having now resolved no longer to delay her intentions, immedi-



Melville, that it is her majesty's intention to return to England immediately; therefore she desires that Lord Melville will be so good as to give orders that one of the royal yachts should be in attendance at Calais next Saturday, 3d of June, to convey her majesty and suite to England."

The letter to the Duke of York was a mere recapitulation of both demands, as well as a protest against the manner in which she had been treated.

Her majesty remained at Villeneuve that night, and the next morning pursued her route to Melun; from thence, avoiding Paris, she went directly on to Abbeville. She reached Abbeville early in the morning, and threw herself on a bed to gain a little repose.

During her majesty's retirement, several English families, resident at Abbeville, requested to pay her their personal respects. They were, however, informed of the fatigues which her majesty had undergone, and of her inability to receive the kindnesses which were intended.

A courier was sent off to St. Omer's, with instructions to have beds prepared for her majesty and her suite; and two hours after, her majesty recommenced her wearisome journey.

As she was about to quit the inn, the English inhabitants already alluded to were in attendance, and as she passed through the hall of the inn they bowed most respectfully. Her majesty was

peared to be a good deal fatigued, but still showed a praiseworthy activity in securing the comfort of his royal mistress.

An English gentleman (Mr. Moreland), who, with his family, were on their way to Paris, now rose from his bed, and tendered the use of his rooms, which were in a retired part of the building, for the use of her majesty; but this was not necessary. He also expressed a hope that he might be allowed to pay his personal respects to her majesty in the course of the day.

After a short interval, the renewed cracking of whips called all who were in attendance to the gate, where her majesty and suite were seen advancing: and here a serious accident had nearly occurred, in consequence of the want of experience in the drivers. In descending the hill one of the leaders of her majesty's carriage fell, and for a few seconds there was reason to apprehend that the carriage would have been overturned. The prompt assistance of the persons present, however, prevented this misfortune, and her majesty was driven safely to the inn.

A carpet was spread on the steps, and she immediately alighted; and leaning on the arms of Alderman Wood and Count Vasali entered the house. She appeared to be somewhat exhausted from the fatigue she had undergone, but soon recovering herself, she resumed her wonted spirits. She ascended to her bed-chamber,

Then came a large English travelling carriage, similar in colour, and the panels emblazoned in the same way with the chariot. In this were her majesty's three female domestics. There were two other calashes, in which were Mr. Austin, the young man adopted by her majesty at Blackheath, whose name has been so repeatedly mentioned; Mr. Wood, junior, and several male branches of her majesty's household; among these we believe we may include the Count Bergami, her Majesty's chamberlain, respecting whom there have been such repeated speculations. This gentleman it appears has engaged her majesty's confidence, in consequence of the fidelity with which he has attended to her pecuniary concerns, but it was determined that he should not accompany her majesty to England. He is a tall robust military-looking man, of middle-age, and was respectfully attentive to her majesty's person; his manners are those of a man who has moved in the highest circles.

After her majesty had partaken of some refreshments, she retired to bed; anxiously expecting the return of her couriers. One of these persons was commissioned to bring her majesty some articles of dress from London.

Her majesty expressed a full determination to proceed to Dover by a common packet-boat, if the yacht which she had demanded should not be sent; and if a royal palace should be refused,

then intended to advance to Calais without delay; from thence embark, and once more visit the shores of "Old England."

The following may be considered in the light of a diary of the proceedings of her majesty, from her arrival at St. Omer's, to her departure from the French territory.

*Friday, June 2.*

"Her majesty was yesterday so much fatigued that she was unable to quit her bed-chamber to attend the dinner party. She is this morning, we are happy to state, improved in health and spirits.

"The courier, who carried the letter from her majesty to Mr. Brougham, arrived last night. Mr. Brougham stated that he would leave London on Thursday morning, and that in all probability he would be at St. Omer's this day. Her majesty anxiously expects his arrival.

"Her majesty expresses most fervently her desire to reach England. She always appears cheerful, except when speaking of the Princess Charlotte, to whose memory her heart seems fondly attached.

"Her majesty makes constant enquiries after every person with whom she was acquainted in England, and seems fully sensible of the attentions which many of the English families she has met felt it their duty to pay to her.

"Among her majesty's domestics, is a cook, who prepares every thing for her majesty's table.

to take her majesty's horses from the carriage, and draw her into the town; but it has received a more extensive construction, and has produced much indignation among the English, who cannot endure such restrictions upon the honest effusions of their hearts.

"The commandant says, that her majesty is travelling as the Countess of Oldi, and in that character he will visit her himself. This is not the case. All her majesty's couriers have their passports drawn up as messengers from 'La Reine d'Angleterre,' and her majesty has invariably adopted that style and title herself. There is no pretence, therefore, for withholding from her the respect due to her rank.

"The courier sent by her majesty to Lords Liverpool and Melville, returned here by the Lord Sidmouth packet, yesterday evening. He brought a box, containing a dress for her majesty, together with despatches. In a few minutes after the arrival of the Lord Sidmouth, the Prince Leopold packet reached the quay, with Mr. Brougham, her majesty's attorney-general, and his brother, and Mr. Sicard, her majesty's steward, on board. Lord Hutchinson was also on board the Prince Leopold. The quay was crowded to see the learned counsel disembark. The British Consul went on board to Mr. Brougham, and, after a short conversation returned on shore.

"Mr. Brougham and his brother, Lord Hutchinson, and Mr. Sicard, proceeded to the Bourbon

majesty reading that of Lord Melville, she appeared to be considerably displeased; perhaps, the former lord adopted the wiser plan of the two; he knew the requests of her majesty could not be complied with, and not having the *same reason* to give as Lord Melville, he thought it better to give none at all. He therefore shrewdly forbore to commit himself, and as far as an official communication could go, her majesty was left in ignorance whether on her arrival in England, a suitable residence would or would not be appointed her.

The following is an extract of a letter from Calais, dated the 14th of May :

*“ Calais, Sunday morning.*

“ No intelligence has as yet been received in this town as to the intended movements of her majesty. The result of her majesty's conference with Mr. Brougham, will, no doubt, soon be known.

“ The Prince Leopold packet, by which Mr. Brougham came from Dover, and which is the largest in the service, still remains in the harbour, and rumours are afloat that she is destined to bear her majesty to England.

“ Orders have been issued by the commandant, that in the event of her majesty's arrival in Calais, no additional flags shall be hoisted by the vessels in the harbour.

“ Additional guards have been mounted at the

Lord Hutchinson had brought over a proposition from the king to her majesty, the queen has been pleased to command Mr. Brougham to request Lord Hutchinson to communicate any such proposition as soon as possible in writing. The bearer of this (Count Vassali) will wait to receive it from your lordship.—*June 4, 1820.*"

To this letter Lord Hutchinson sent a written answer, which it is not material to publish, as it merely stated that his lordship had no written proposals, but merely some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper. Mr. Brougham instantly sent the following reply to Lord Hutchinson's letter:

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the queen to express to Lord Hutchinson her majesty's surprise at his lordship not being ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he is the bearer; but as Lord Hutchinson is desirous of a few hours' delay, her majesty will wait until five o'clock, in the expectation of receiving a communication from his lordship at that hour.—2 o'clock, *June 4, 1820.*"

It was not till within a few minutes of the stipulated time that Lord Hutchinson communicated his proposals in the following letter:

"Sir,—In obedience to the commands of the queen I have to inform you, that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which I could lay

my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious counsel to the queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with the reflection that I have performed a painful duty imposed upon me to the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case in the decision of which the king, the queen, the government, and the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy, nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion, but it is her majesty's decision and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the queen has refused to give any, even the shortest delay.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" With great regard,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" HUTCHINSON."

The moment this offensive epistle was read, her majesty expressed the warmest indignation; and although we believe some attempts were made to calm her irritation, and to induce her to suspend her resolves, she commanded Mr. Brougham to write the following reply to Lord Hutchinson :



he got ready, and at half past five her majesty got into her carriage, with Lady Hamilton, a female attendant, and Alderman Wood. She drove off with the utmost speed, and was followed by two calashes, in which were the younger Mr. Wood, Mr. Austin, a female, and two male domestics; a black servant, and one of her couriers was on the box of her own carriage. It may be proper to mention, that her majesty was, on walking down the steps of the hotel at St. Omer's, warmly greeted by a great number of ladies of the first respectability, both French and English: A Greek lady, the wife of Mr. Copeland, an English banker, about to settle at Paris, was introduced to her majesty, who paid her compliments on her interesting appearance: the lady answered in Italian, and wished her majesty a pleasant voyage, and a speedy victory over her enemies. The queen gave her an animated smile, and in Italian returned her warm thanks for her good wishes.

The suddenness of her departure was such, that Mr. Brougham had no time to follow her majesty to her coach, and indeed scarcely knew she was gone, till he saw from a window the carriage hastening away. The reason of this precipitate departure, which prevented Mr. Brougham from paying the respect which he would otherwise have most anxiously paid, has been since very satisfactorily and naturally explained.

On her majesty's sudden appearance at Calais, the greatest ferment prevailed. She was immediately recognized, from the colour of her liveries and the number of her carriages. She was followed to the quay by a considerable crowd, and was loudly cheered. The tide was out, but she fearlessly descended into the packet by a ladder of many steps. Once on board she seemed more at ease. She sat upon a seat on the deck, and remained there in conversation with Lady Hamilton. But few persons were permitted to remain on the quay, and these had only a distant view of her majesty. It was altogether a most extraordinary scene: the queen of this great empire divested of the pomp due to her illustrious rank, seated on the deck of a common packet-boat, and, for the moment, deserted, as it were, by all those whose duty it was to protect her, and yet flying not from, but, with the pride of conscious innocence, fearlessly to meet, her enemies. The very humility of her situation, however, but displayed in more glowing colours the nobleness of her mind. She appeared to soar above all trifling considerations, and as she turned her eyes towards the British shores, she exclaimed to Lady Hamilton, in a plaintive voice, "It is there and there alone I hope for justice. It is among my people I must look for the respect due to my rank; it is from them, and them alone, I can expect the acknowledgement of my rights, and the defence of my character, against the foulest calumniators!"

Dover shore at half-past-ten the ensuing morning, and, stepping into a post-chaise and four, was driven into London in less than six hours. The gentleman who had preceded him, with the despatches of the Consul, had stated, that her majesty did not intend coming to England for some time. This *ruse de guerre* was frustrated by a statement of the real truth, and thus an opportunity was afforded for evincing the enthusiasm we shall subsequently describe. A report prevailed at Calais that her majesty's messenger had been lost; but, happily, without foundation.

After the departure of the messenger, her majesty retired to rest in one of the births of the cabin. Alderman Wood slept, or rather watched, on the deck, wrapped in a large coat.

Lord Hutchinson so little expected her majesty's departure, that he was in the act of writing the following letter to Mr. Brougham when the queen went away. This letter was sent after her majesty to Calais, in an enclosure from Mr. Brougham. The queen was asleep when the parcel arrived, about one o'clock, and it was therefore received by Alderman Wood. The worthy alderman did not think it right to wake her majesty; but, about two hours afterwards, hearing her speak to her female attendant, he sent the letter to her: her majesty read it, and desired Mr. Alderman Wood to acknowledge it; but to add, that the queen saw no reason to alter her course.

west for several hours, prevented the packet from making any way; but at about eleven o'clock a breeze sprung up from the south, and very speedily brought the Queen of England near her own shores.

Her majesty was much indisposed from the customary effects of the motion of the vessel; but this subsided as she approached the British shore, on which she kept her eyes steadily fixed.

The certainty of her majesty's approach having been ascertained from the royal standard flying at the mast head of the Prince Leopold, which could be distinctly seen with glasses from the heights, the greatest bustle prevailed. Some confusion seemed to exist among the military authorities as to the mode of receiving her majesty. At last Colonel Monroe, who is the commandant of the garrison, determined to receive her majesty with a royal salute: he observed, as we are informed, that as no special instructions had been sent to him, he conceived he should best discharge his duty by obeying the general rule, which was to fire a royal salute whenever a royal personage landed at Dover. This sensible decision gave great satisfaction to the people of Dover, who were already flocking in vast numbers, and all dressed as if for a fête, in order to view the disembarkation of their queen. The packet, at about a quarter before one, came close into the roads, but on account of the tide, could not enter

lustre, but her cheeks had the appearance of a long intimacy with care and anxiety. She is not so much *en bon point* as formerly, and her manner and figure altogether seemed perfectly befitting her exalted station. She was dressed with great elegance, in a rich pelisse, lined with fur, a black sarcenet gown, white ruff, black satin hat, and a rich plume of black ostrich feathers.

Sir Edward Hamilton came forward to meet her majesty, and she rested on his arm. As she moved along, the crowd gathered so fast, and pressed so closely round her, that she was compelled to take refuge in the York-hotel. Mr. Wright, of the Ship-hotel, seeing that it would be impossible for her majesty to reach his house on foot, immediately despatched a handsome open carriage to the York-hotel. Her majesty, Lady Hamilton, and Alderman Wood, ascended the carriage; the populace removed the horses, and drew it themselves. A band of music preceded her majesty, and two large flags, bearing the inscription of "God save Queen Caroline," were carried by some of the principal tradesmen. A guard of honour was placed at the door of the hotel, but the people did not seem to relish their appearance, and the queen observing to Alderman Wood that their presence appeared rather to produce an unpleasant and angry feeling, the worthy alderman suggested the propriety of their going away. After playing "God save the King," the soldiers retired, and the populace seemed

o'clock at night, on the 4th, and sailed at six this morning. After getting outside of the harbour, she remained on deck until her arrival at Dover, though the sea was considerably agitated by a smart and unfavourable breeze, and she experienced the sufferings of sea-sickness severely. At about a quarter past one this day her majesty landed, under a salute from the batteries, and the naval squadron in the roads. She was accompanied by Lady Ann Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and his son; Mr. Austin, two couriers, and some domestics. All her Italian court have remained behind. The crowd collected was immense. It may truly be said that it comprised nearly the entire of the most respectable as well as of the inferior classes in Dover and the neighbourhood, as far as Canterbury. It comprised almost every individual of both sexes and of all ages, who was not detained at home by illness or other reasons equally cogent. The oldest inhabitant of Dover does not recollect an instance of such an immense mass, not even at the landing of the emperors. did the crowd equal by one half the aggregate collected this day to witness and hail her majesty's return. The feeling was universal, and the air was literally rent with acclamation, and cries of "God save Queen Caroline—God save our good Queen!" The anxiety of all ranks to see and welcome her majesty was so great, that it was not without considerable difficulty she could make her way up from the beach through

them, that is to say, *if any thing short of supernatural could affect them.* An address of congratulation was immediately moved, and presented to her by the freemen and the respectable inhabitants of Dover; in fact, had I the descriptive powers of Sir Walter Scott, I could give you but a very faint idea of the enthusiasm excited by her arrival. Suffice it to say, that she need not have a horse harnessed to her carriage between this and London.

“ On this momentous occasion her majesty has acted with a spirit and decision highly creditable to her. The proposals which Lord Hutchinson was directed to make to her, were insulting to her dignity, and derogatory to her character as a queen, and as a female. She was required to reside on the continent—not to assume the title of queen—to *relinquish all honours and titles appertaining unto the royal family—and never to return to England!!* The reward proffered for her thus acceding to her own dishonour, and tacitly admitting the accusations against her to be well-founded, was to be *fifty thousand per annum!!* Her majesty replied in a dignified but firm manner, ‘*Tell Lord Hutchinson that I will return an answer to them in London.*’ ”

Another account says, it is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which her majesty was received at Dover. Thousands of well-dressed ladies appeared on the beach and at the windows, welcoming her majesty in the most enthusiastic

*“ To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.*

“ May it please your royal majesty,—We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the town and port of Dover, beg leave to approach your majesty's most gracious person, to offer our most hearty congratulations on your majesty's safe arrival in your own kingdom. We beg leave to assure your majesty how deeply we deplore the events which, under the dispensation of Divine Providence, have so lately taken place in this nation, and beg leave to offer your majesty our sincere condolence on the demise of our late much-beloved and ever-to-be-lamented most gracious sovereign, and to assure your majesty of our firm attachment to the house of Brunswick, and of our determination to support, at all times, those principles which placed them on the British throne. We rejoice at the opportunity which your majesty has at this time been graciously pleased to afford us of addressing you, for whom we entertain the highest and most profound veneration and respect; and to assure your majesty how fully we participate in every happiness you can experience: and more particularly on your being now placed on the British throne as Queen of England. May this event, so pleasing to the nation, be productive of permanent felicity to your majesty, and may your reign over us be long and happy.”

To this her majesty returned the following most gracious answer :—



did not reach Canterbury till half-past nine o'clock. It was quite dark. The scene, however, became singularly beautiful from the effect of 100 flambeaux, which were lighted at the entrance of the city, and carried by men. This illumination discovered upwards of ten thousand persons, who were anxiously expecting her majesty's approach, and who, the moment they caught sight of her carriage, gave three cheers, and continued to cry "Long live Queen Caroline." The horses were taken from the carriage, and her majesty was drawn through the main street by the multitude. On reaching the house of the mayor, the crowd stopped, and renewed their cheers. Her majesty reached the Fountain-hotel at a quarter to ten o'clock, and immediately alighted amidst continued testimonies of loyalty and attachment.

The following correspondence appears to wear a singular complexion, and were it not authenticated by all the leading journals, we should be disposed to question its accuracy. If a guard of honour had been ordered for her majesty by orders from government, at Canterbury, how happens it, that it is not granted to her in the metropolis? We can only account for this apparent neglect, by supposing that the offer of the guard was made, but refused.

Message to the commanding officer of the guard, at the Fountain-hotel :

"The mayor presents his compliments to the

may long live in the esteem and admiration of a loyal and dutiful people.—5th *June*, 1820.”

Her majesty immediately delivered the following most gracious answer :

“ Gentlemen—I am very much obliged to you for the attention you have shown me, and certainly, if it is ever in my power, I shall be happy to do any thing for the good town of Canterbury, and to make my people happy. Gentlemen, you must excuse this short address, as I am very tired ; but I speak from my heart, and I am sure you will like that better than a formal address. I shall never forget the loyalty and affection that are shown to the house of Brunswick by this noble and generous nation.”

The members of the corporation were then introduced to her majesty, and had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand. Several ladies who attended to witness the ceremony, had likewise the honour of conversing with her majesty, and kissing her hand. The mayor, in presenting the address, was accompanied by seven aldermen out of the twelve of which the corporation consists, the sheriff, the town-clerk, and sixteen common-councilmen out of the twenty-four who compose the council. Her majesty retired early to her bedchamber.

On the following morning her majesty rose at nine, and intimated that she would set out on her journey to London at half-past ten. The horses

waving her handkerchief as long as the cheers for the king continued. Her majesty addressed the people in the same manner at every village and town along the road at which she met with any expression of popular applause; she spoke, indeed, with peculiar fervour to the people at Dartford.

A great many of the young officers of the cavalry regiments, stationed at Canterbury, accompanied her majesty on horseback from Canterbury to Sittingbourn.

Through every village on the route towards London the same enthusiasm prevailed. All business was at end, and every class of society seemed to feel it a duty to pay homage to her majesty. The bells of the churches were set ringing, and all was joy and exultation.

At the bottom of Chatham-hill the whole population of the town of Chatham and its vicinity were collected to bid her majesty welcome. An attempt was made to renew the compliment of drawing her majesty through the town; but as her majesty was anxious to get to London before the close of day, at her request the people desisted. She was, however, cheered from every house as she passed, and all were alike loud in their acclamations of applause. The scenes described as having taken place in the other towns were renewed until she had gone completely through Rochester and Stroud. She was also attended by a very numerous cavalcade of horsemen, and was preceded by two of the Kentish

gentleman with a fine blood-horse tendered his services, and rode off with the rapidity of lightning.

At Dartford the highest demonstrations of respect were paid by the people. Immense crowds from the metropolis were assembled on Shooter's hill. On descending, the carriage of her majesty was nearly overset, but fortunately no injury was experienced. All the way from Shooter's-hill to the inn at Blackheath, her majesty was received in the same warm and cordial manner, and crowds assembled before the inn, anxiously calling on her majesty to make her appearance. Mr. Alderman Wood explained to them, that as soon as her majesty had received some refreshment, she would appear. Her majesty at last appeared at the window, and was cheered, as usual, by the loudest acclamations.

All the way into the metropolis, her majesty was accompanied by numbers of carriages and horsemen, and the road was crowded the whole way, by persons who had been anxiously waiting from an early hour for her majesty. The enthusiasm with which she was received on her approach to the metropolis was indescribable, and left no doubt of the sympathy and regard of the people of this country. These were everywhere so unequivocally displayed, that no one could possibly mistake them.

Her majesty the queen arrived in town shortly after seven o'clock.

cavalcade passed, were filled with elegant women and gentlemen, who paid to her majesty every demonstration of respect. One continued shout was heard long before her majesty crossed Westminster-bridge, but greatly increased as the crowd increased when she passed by Carlton-palace.

As she proceeded up Pall-mall and St. James's-street, the interest of the scene thickened—the windows of all the elegant and fashionable houses at that end of the town were thronged with spectators; the brilliant effect was increased in interest and dignity by the affectionate congratulations from every quarter, by the prayers, by the cheering congratulations of every rank, age, and sex. In the different Club-houses of St. James's-street, the noblemen and gentlemen appeared in the windows and on the balconies in considerable numbers, and paid their respects to her majesty as she passed. Her majesty's progress as she approached South Audley-street was much retarded, so great was the pressure of the people, all anxious to catch a glance of the mother of their late beloved princess—all animated by one feeling of duty, loyalty, and devotion.

She descended from her carriage amidst the loud and enthusiastic plaudits of the crowd, which now filled all the avenues leading to South Audley-street.

In a few minutes after, her majesty, followed

lisk in St. George's-fields, at the Elephant and Castle, and the Bricklayers' Arms, the multitude began rapidly to increase about three o'clock. The more loyal publicans hoisted a royal ensign on the staff of their sign-posts, and at Deptford the union jack was suspended in two or three places across the road. Symptoms of an impatient curiosity, mingled with those of a deep and powerful interest, became stronger in each succeeding hour. At half-past six her majesty passed the Bricklayers' arms, and here she was greeted by new multitudes, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and renewing the shouts of exultation already described. On pursuing its route over Westminster-bridge, the crowd re-assembled in one compact body, and, preceding or following in the train, accompanied the procession to its close. The ladies, it may be supposed, felt a peculiar interest on the occasion, and testified the warmth of that feeling by every demonstration not unbecoming the delicacy of their sex. Though not originally intended to pass up Pall-mall, this direction was taken by the great body of horsemen who preceded the royal carriage, and it was not thought necessary to turn suddenly off. The sentries on duty at Carlton-house presented arms, but in a manner indicating that some reserve and embarrassment extended even to their humble stations. It was now understood that her majesty was to proceed to the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, in South Audley-street, there to fix

evening, and the inmates of every carriage, as well as every horseman who passed, paid homage to the residence of their queen.

At seven o'clock, Mr. Denman attended at South Audley-street, where he had an interview of some length with her majesty, who shewed him all the correspondence she had with Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson. Mr. Denman then, by desire of her majesty, proceeded to Mr. Brougham, who had arrived in town during the morning, and who soon after returned with him to South Audley-street. Both these gentlemen remained some time in consultation with her majesty, and after their departure, her majesty sat down to dinner with Lady Ann Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood, the alderman's family having immediately after they received her majesty, left the house, and proceeded to Flagdon's hotel. There also the worthy alderman himself went in the course of the night, leaving his house and servants entirely to the use of the queen.

During the evening there was a partial illumination at the West end of the town, especially at some of the club-rooms. The crowd remained opposite the door till a late hour of the night.

The Countess of Byland, who we stated to have arrived at the Kingston-hotel at Calais, did not see her majesty in France, but came to Dover by a subsequent packet. The countess followed her majesty to Canterbury: and the ensuing day, joined in her suite with a carriage and four horses.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman held a consultation with her majesty as to the measures which might be most advisable to adopt, in consequence it of the message from the king to the two houses of parliament. The result was a determination to send a message from her majesty to both houses of Parliament.

On the day subsequent to the arrival of her majesty, Lord Liverpool appeared in the House of Lords and presented a message from the king, which he handed to the Lord Chancellor, who immediately read it to the following effect :

“ G. R.

“ The king deems it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the queen, to communicate to the House of Lords certain papers relative to the conduct of her majesty since her departure from this country, which his majesty recommends to the immediate and serious attention of the house.

“ The king has felt a most anxious desire to avert, by all the means in his power, a necessity as painful to the people as to his own feelings; but the step taken by the queen leaves him no alternative.

“ The king feels the utmost confidence in making this communication, that the House of Lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case, and the honour and dignity of his crown require.”



## MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

*Lord Castlereagh* appeared at the bar of the house.

*The Speaker*.—Lord Castlereagh, what have you got there?

*Lord Castlereagh*.—A message from the king.

*The Speaker* desired him to bring it up.

The noble lord then brought up a paper and a sealed green bag: the paper he gave into the hands of the Speaker; the green bag he laid upon the table.

*The Speaker* then proceeded to read the message, amidst loud cries of "hats off."

When the message was read, Lord Castlereagh, in a very low tone of voice, moved the thanks of that house to his majesty for his most gracious message. We understood him also to state, that on to-morrow he should move that the papers alluded to in said message (and which were brought down in a bag), should be referred to a secret committee.

*Mr. G. Bennet* rose, but as the motion for the vote of thanks had precedence, he sat down until the vote was carried.

*Mr. Bennet*.—Mr. Speaker, seeing no member near me disposed to put a question to the noble lord, and with a full persuasion of my own humility, I still feel most anxious to know from him, whether a letter which has this day appeared in one of the public journals, and which purports to

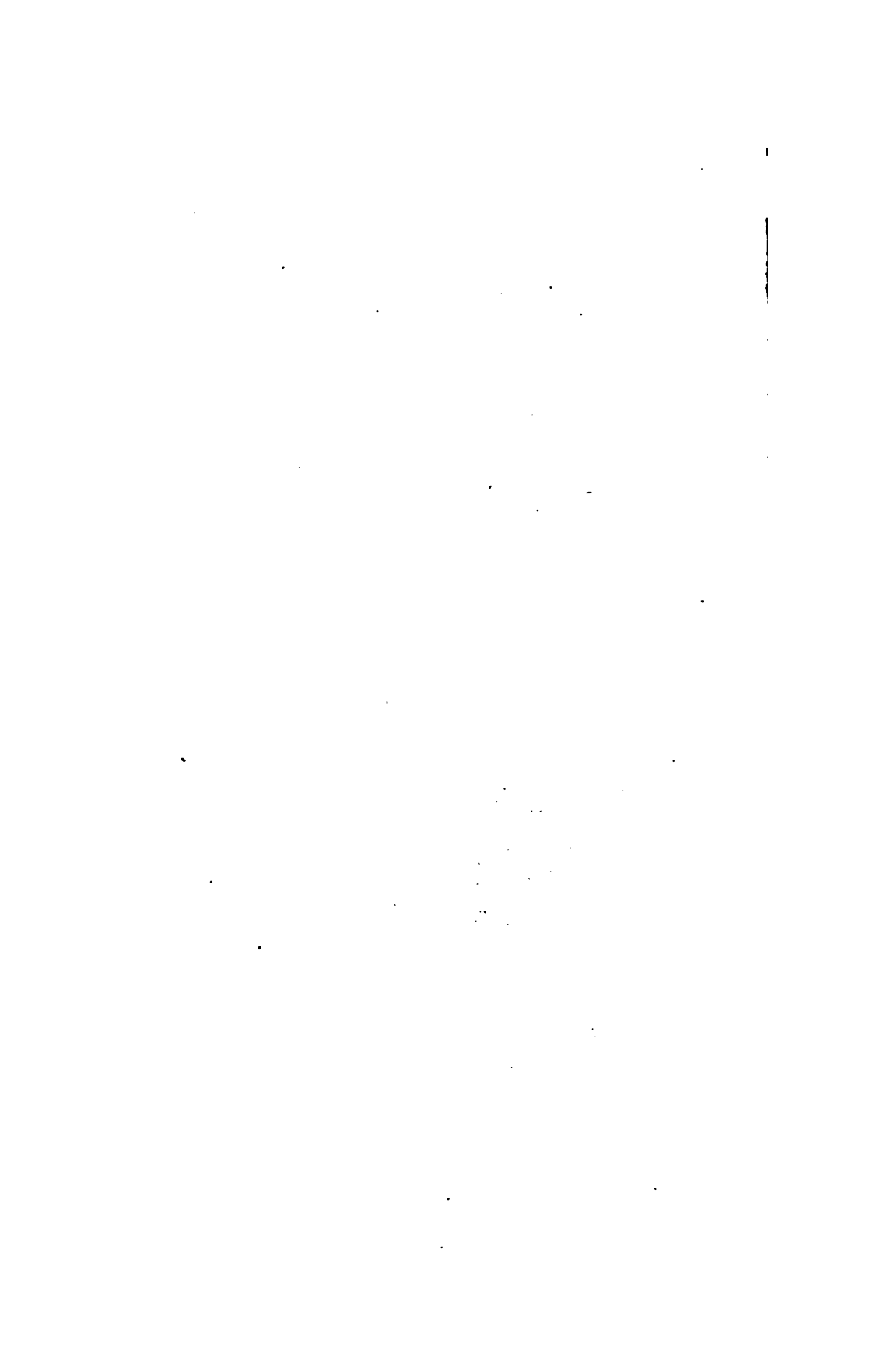
be the letter of Lord Hutchinson to the legal adviser of the queen of England, is, or is not a genuine document? Whether Lord Hutchinson had instructions from the ministers of the crown to call upon the Queen of England to lay down her right and title—a right held by the same constitutional securities as that of the king himself—for a bribe of 50,000*l.* a-year? I do feel most anxious to have an answer to this question, because, hardy as I know his majesty's ministers to be—so hardy, to use the words of my right honourable friend Mr. Tierney, as even to betray the king and insult the queen, he still could not believe that even they would venture to authorise such a proposition. I, for one, will never assent to the genuineness of that document, until I hear it admitted by the noble lord opposite (Castle-reagh). Until that admission shall be made, I can never give credit to the statement, that a British ministry, without the authority and consent of Parliament, would have dared to call upon the Queen of Great Britain to divest herself of that title which she holds by the same right as the king himself does his title, for a bribe of 50,000*l.* a-year—a bribe too, not to be paid by the king himself, but to be taken out of the pockets of the people of England, labouring under the severest distresses, and to be given to a person against whom, if the statements circulated against her were true, was not alone unworthy of being the Queen of England, but of being allowed

to place her foot upon its shore. There were no words strong enough to convey an adequate impression of such a proposition. To call it treason to the monarchy, might be considered extravagant, but I cannot consider it less than an act of treachery to the monarchy of Great Britain. Feeling a sincere respect and attachment to that monarchy, upon whose credit and character I believe the peace and security of this country essentially to depend, I could not as an honest man, postpone the duty I feel, of hearing the ministers of the crown admit or deny the fact of the genuineness of the document now before the public—whether or not they had transmitted a person to make such an offer—whether they, the ministers of the crown, are parties to the proposition of calling upon the Queen of England without the consent, authority, or knowledge of Parliament, to lay down her title for 50,000*l.* a-year.

*Lord Castlereagh*, in a very low tone of voice, observed, that he could not help admiring the peculiar temper under which the honourable member rose to put his question. It must be felt by the honourable member as a most auspicious state of mind, under which to discuss one of the most grave and important questions, perhaps, ever submitted to the sober and deliberate consideration of Parliament; a consideration in which were involved no less than the dignity and honour of the crown, and the peace and tranquil-

evident that this extraordinary letter was genuine, but that his majesty's ministers were ashamed to own it.

*Mr. Creevey* observed, that so convinced was he of the propriety of the question put with so much feeling by his honourable friend (*Mr. Bennet*) that had it not been put, it was his intention to have moved for the production of the papers connected with the late negociation at *St. Omer's*. The Queen of England was to be prosecuted now, for what?—for having dared to set her foot in England. His majesty had the same objection to be in the same country with his queen that he once had to be in the same drawing-room with her. We were now to have a prosecution founded on the result of an unsuccessful menace, and an unaccepted bribe, a bribe offered to the Queen of England to renounce her title. When his majesty called upon the house, by his gracious message, to interest themselves in the consideration of that evidence which was placed in the bag before them—a course which he thought the house would not be right in pursuing, he called upon them to become parties in a private prosecution—a prosecution in which the same person was the accuser, party, prosecutor, procurer of evidence, and might in the end, as the third estate, in the event of a bill of attainder, be the judge. Since the time of *Henry VIII.* the English House of Commons had not been in the habit of thus interfering with the Queens of Eng-





SIR ROBERT WILSON.

*London. Published by Tho<sup>s</sup> Kelly 17 Paternoster Row. Oct. 23. 1821.*

the compelling the Queen of England, when she arrived at Calais, to sail in a common passage-boat, to hoist the standard of England in a hired conveyance. Was it no indignity that the Queen of England had no roof, no asylum, no house to to which she could repair, but has been obliged to accept the roof of an honest individual? (This remark occasioned a laugh on the ministerial side of the house.) The laugh he did not understand, but he would repeat, an honest individual, who had discharged his various public duties with fidelity, with diligence, and with service to his country. Whatever course the advisers of the crown might pursue, he was disposed to believe that his majesty would not approve of any indignity offered to her, who was once the wife of his affections, and now the partner of his throne.

*Lord A. Hamilton* stated, that as he had given a strong opinion on the subject before, he should not trespass long upon their attention. Whatever opinion his honourable friend might entertain on the exclusion of the Queen from the Liturgy, he must ever cite such a proceeding as a proof of the attempt to condemn her majesty unheard and unaccused. It was illegal, according to the tenor and principle of the law, which gave the power of altering the names of the royal family from time to time, as fitted the occasion. By a construction at variance with the principle of the law, by what he would not call special pleading, but special quibbling, that law was extended to authorize

tled by the union. He could not suffer these acts of previous and anticipated condemnation to pass without entering his protest against the injustice of such a measure, and without calling upon his majesty's ministers to extend to the Queen of England that privilege which was not denied to the poorest and meanest of her subjects, the privilege of not being condemned unheard—without calling upon them to retrace their steps, and place the queen in the same situation to meet her trial in which she would have been placed if she had not experienced these acts of injustice on the part of his majesty's ministers.

*Mr. Denman* said, that it was not his intention at the present moment to enter into any discussion of this most important subject; for, both in a personal and constitutional view of the question, a fitter opportunity would hereafter occur. He confessed that he entertained some apprehension lest he should be betrayed into too strong an expression of those ardent feelings which the subject was calculated to excite; but which, however, gave him infinitely less alarm than the cold, calm, temperate manner in which a proposition of this nature had been brought forward by his majesty's ministers—a proposition full of such weighty consequences to the illustrious individual and to the country. He could not trust himself to press this subject at the present moment; but in common justice to the illustrious individual, whose arrival in the country was greeted with an



paramount importance, that of clearly and satisfactorily convincing the house and the country, that there was no longer any possibility left of postponing or suppressing the discussion of this question. In what way soever the merits of this case were decided, in his view of the case he thought that decision a question of inferior importance, compared with that of shewing that the mere fact of her majesty's landing in this country rendered all further forbearance absolutely impossible. This was so manifest, that he should be wasting the time of the house, were he to urge this point any further. He took it for granted, that the noble lord and his colleagues had addressed themselves to this consideration, and were prepared to stake their places upon the event. He would only add, in his own justification, and in justification of the noble lord who accompanied him upon a recent occasion, that since his entering the house that evening, he had read, with very great astonishment, in one of the public newspapers, a long statement, purporting to be an account of what passed at St. Omer's, which, he repeated, in justification of himself and the noble lord who was still absent, was in many respects a most inaccurate, in some material particulars, a very garbled statement. Through what channel this statement had been made public, or to what breach of confidence the subject had obtained this very extraordinary degree of premature publicity, it was not for him to determine;

of "lights, lights!" all remained tolerably quiet except in South Audley-street; but at midnight a band of about one hundred persons issued forth from that street on the proposition to have lights exhibited, or to break the windows. Before they left the front of Alderman Wood's house, however, they began to carry the threat into execution, as the windows of the houses next door and next door but one, were very unceremoniously demolished. In Curzon-street, scarcely a house escaped; and at many of those houses, the fine large squares of the parlour and first-floor windows were entirely broken. The houses in Dover-street and Clarges-street shared a similar fate. Several hundred houses were exposed to this outrage, which there was little opportunity of averting, as the occupants of many of them had retired to rest.

The mob proceeded along Piccadilly into St. James's-square; Lord Castlereagh's house was hooted and pelted, but a new direction was given to their fury, by a solitary exclamation of "Carlton-house! Carlton-house!" in the propriety of an attack upon which, however, all seemed to agree. Thither they accordingly directed their steps; but their movements having become known, some preparations were made to receive them. In the interior of Carlton-house, the Riding-school, &c. there was an increased military guard, and a small civil force; and the whole were under the direction of Sir R. Baker, the chief magistrate of Bow-street Office, who was in attendance, and

progress. They proceeded to the Marquis of Anglesea's. The windows here, as at Lord Sidmouth's house, suffered severely in the parlour and drawing-room : scarcely a whole pane of glass was left.

It was now about eleven o'clock, and it was determined to visit Lord Castlereagh's house once more, and thence proceed into Pall-mall ; but there being some vague cries of " The military, the military !" portions of the mob having heard of parties of the horse-guards being out, they faced about, and directed their steps northward, to go in pursuit of their friends who had been taken into custody. It was imagined that they had been taken to Marlborough-street police-office, and with this idea they proceeded in the direction to that office : but near Argyle-street a party of the Life-guards came up with them, and they fled in all directions.

By this time, in consequence of the intelligence that had reached the police and government offices, of the outrages that were taking place, parties of the police, aided by bands of constables and small troops of the horse-guards were called out. About 250 of the horse-guards were out, divided into parties of ten and twenty each, and they traversed the west-end of the town in different directions, meeting each other at stated points, the officers receiving and giving information respecting what they observed. They thus proceeded, backwards and forwards, along Pall-mall, round

In the course of the morning, numbers of tradesmen went into the mansion, with parcels for the queen. About eleven o'clock, several private individuals, in their carriages, began to arrive, and make enquiries. A servant attended in the hall, with a book, and the enquirers severally put down their names.

Between eleven and twelve, Mr. Alderman Wood waited upon her royal highness the Duchess of Kent by the queen's command, to express her majesty's condolence on the lamented death of the Duke of Kent, and to enquire after the health of her royal highness and her royal infant.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman had an interview with her majesty in the course of the morning, and they remained in consultation upwards of two hours.

So early as ten o'clock a considerable crowd had assembled in front of the house, and before noon the whole street for a great distance on each side the house was so thronged, that it was with difficulty the carriages could pass through it. The crowd up to this time was composed chiefly of respectably dressed persons, a very large proportion of them females; but towards two o'clock it began to assume the same tumultuous complexion as on the preceding afternoon. The former cry of "hats off!" was resumed as any coach, cart, or horsemen passed, and the mud was very liberally applied to any person

majesty has learned, with deep regret, that some persons have been insulted in passing her present residence, and that windows have been broken by individuals affecting to be her friends. She trusts such illegal conduct will not be repeated; and I am commanded to say that it is her express desire that you will, as good citizens, retire peaceably to your homes immediately."

The worthy Alderman bowed and withdrew amidst loud cheering, and immediately after, the crowd began to disperse; but towards dusk a fresh and more extensive one had assembled, and the tumultuous scenes of the preceding evening were likely to be renewed.

The proceedings in parliament on this most important subject, will be perused with peculiar interest. They contain information which could not be elicited from any other quarter, and it must be acknowledged by all parties, that the temperate, candid, and conciliating manner in which this important question has been treated in both houses of parliament, merits the applause and confidence of the country.

On Wednesday the 7th, the Earl of Liverpool moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration his majesty's message; which having been read, he moved an address, thanking his majesty for his most gracious communication.

*The Earl of Liverpool* said, the course to be proposed was one that would place the whole

adultery with a foreigner abroad, she was guilty of no crime known to our laws, because, and he had it from the highest legal authority, the Act of Edward III. made it only high treason in a Queen or Princess of Wales, to commit adultery with a person owing allegiance to the king. But was it to be made a case without any remedy? It was a case only to be remedied by legislative provision; and he, therefore, though it was the most proper way to refer it to a secret committee, to examine whether any and what course should be adopted, on such a matter. This was not a case which came within the power of the ordinary tribunals, and therefore, this was the most proper mode of proceeding.

*Lord Holland* said, his objection was, that this course of proceeding would lead to a conclusion highly dissatisfactory to the public, and dishonourable to that house. Whether the measure to be adopted was to be by a bill of divorce or of pains and penalties, that might have been done by the noble earl by bringing down the bill without calling for any investigation. They ought to pause before they took any step on a case which the grand inquest of the nation, (the House of Commons) was about to investigate. By instituting the proposed committee, they expressed an opinion that the matter to be submitted to them could not become a matter of judicial proceedings. The noble lord's law might be very good, but they could not know that the

realms should be not only free from stain, but from the imputation of blemish.

*Lord Holland* was far from thinking that no inquiry should be instituted in this case ; but he thought that inquiry should be made by the grand inquest of the nation—the other house of parliament ; and they, who were the supreme court of judicature, should not come prejudiced to any judgment they might be called upon to decide. He did not think the proposed mode of proceeding more severe, or as severe, as many that might be adopted ; but he protested against it as unconstitutional.

*The Marquis of Lansdown* agreed in every word of the explanation of his noble friend.

The motion was then agreed to, and the house adjourned.

As it might have been naturally expected, the queen lost no time in addressing a message to the House of Commons, in consequence of that which had previously been sent down by the king. Her majesty declares that she relies with the utmost confidence upon the support of the House of Commons to defeat the machinations against her. This confidence, it is certain, will never be abused. If any machinations have been or shall hereafter be carried on against the Queen of England, they will most undoubtedly be defeated by the Commons of England. In this respect, they will shun the feelings, and act on the

courts, have any foundation, is a matter at this moment of mere speculation.

The following is the message from the Queen :

“ The Queen thinks it necessary to inform the House of Commons, that she has been induced to return to England in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace for some time by secret agents abroad, and lately sanctioned by the conduct of the government at home. In adopting this course, her majesty has had no other purpose whatsoever, but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

“ Upon her arrival, the queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament, requiring its attention to written documents ; and she learns with still greater astonishment, that there is an intention of proposing that these should be referred to a select committee: It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject of the



sage of the king.—The message was read by the clerk.

*Lord Castlereagh* said, that, in rising to call the attention of the house to his majesty's message, he had to assure the house, that he keenly felt the extreme delicacy of this most painful of public questions, and that nothing could have induced ministers to bring it forward until all the efforts to render a discussion unnecessary had proved unavailing. He then proceeded to state what it was the intention of ministers to recommend for the adoption of the house. He protested *in limine* against the insinuation that ministers came down to parliament in the spirit of persecution or of prosecution. Never was there a message delivered to that house on terms more gracious than that to which they now directed their attention. The sovereign sought their advice. Until the nature of the information to be laid before them was known, it was impossible to give that advice; and no vote should be asked of them that might be calculated to fetter their judgment upon the final question. It was to be presumed, that the queen's address was advised by her majesty's counsel, and that her majesty apprehended that the charge would be unsupported by evidence, and decided upon before a secret tribunal. It was a matter of astonishment to him that ministers should be suspected of proposing or countenancing any mode of accusation against the illustrious individual, or against the meanest subject, without

as the committee could have nothing to do with that question, it was advisable to exclude them; for, if it appeared to the committee that her majesty could not properly be impeached, their presence could add nothing to the general impression. On the other hand, if there appeared grounds of charge, those gentlemen would feel themselves in an awkward condition, by being obliged to act as agents of her majesty, and members of the committee, in which they were bound to act conscientiously. Their hands would, in fact, be much more free by their exclusion. With respect to the observations made on the former night by the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side, upon this subject, he thought it necessary to assure them, that they could not consider the step ministers were compelled to adopt in a more painful light than he did, and he thought that they had entered prematurely upon a question, with the details of which they ought to have been more fully acquainted, instead of giving credence to the wild stories that were circulated through the world. He claimed from parliament that they would not raise a presumption upon these reports, and from those who seemed to advocate the queen, that they would not give their sanction to what must, at least, be considered a very doubtful authority. He denied any attempt upon the part of ministers to dishonour or betray either of the royal personages to whose case their attention was directed. No investiga-

Liturgy, &c., &c. ; and asserted that the question of the coronation was distinctly at the discretion of the crown. His lordship said, that the ministers had been most anxious to avert the painful issue at which they had now arrived : but it had come. He, therefore, trusted that there would be wisdom enough to meet the question ; and that there would be a spirit of patient inquiry. If any attempt were made to appeal to the public mind, where the troubled spirit was but imperfectly allayed, he must lament the result. If she had listened to weak and mischievous advisers—if she had been approached by persons who were incompetent to advise, and had presumed upon such opportunity, he trusted her majesty would be awakened to a sense of what was due to her station. He concluded with moving, that the papers be referred to a secret committee.

*Mr. Brougham* then rose. The noble lord himself had not risen with more pain than he did ;—but he could only feel satisfaction that the hour had arrived when this question could be fully and fairly met. He was aware of the importance of the question. He was anxious that the honour, the dignity, and the popularity of the crown should be sustained. The illustrious lady whose cause he advocated appealed not to the mobs to which the noble lord had been pleased to allude. Her majesty did this with confidence ; and for sagacity and propriety of mind he had seldom met any lady that surpassed her. And yet how un-

deemed a tribunal of ultimate judicature. That was not the fact, said the noble lord. He (Mr. Brougham), and his learned friend, knew that as well as the noble lord. He knew that any decision of the committee would be powerless beyond the threshold of the committee-room. There were the bills of attainder, and the other great monsters of Henry VIII.'s reign,—but the noble lord, the organ of the present rickety and shattered ministry, durst not follow those precedents. The noble lord, to attempt any thing of the kind, would require no ordinary power; but to pass any such bill,—to condemn without any public hearing, the noble lord would find to be infinitely beyond any power which he possessed. Therefore, for the noble lord to say what the committee would not do, he should take as no concession; nor should he counsel her majesty to consider it as any concession. It was not even an approximation to an argument; it was not even the shadow of a shade of reason. As to the comparison between the committee and a grand jury, there was no analogy. A grand jury was sworn; it was impartial, and it was impartially selected. The party impanelled had no peculiar interest in the question at issue. A grand jury certainly decided on ex-parte evidence; but what sort of evidence was offered here?—Letters and papers, with or without names, he knew not which, forwarded from beyond the Alps, the result of a commission sent by God knew whom. He was

have gentlemen to reflect how they would like to have their conduct similarly examined, and made the subject of the report of a committee. How would they like to be examined in privacy and darkness, on documents as darkly procured? What would they not give of their earthly goods to escape from such a report? The noble lord said, he could appeal to the house afterwards; so he must if he had no other resource; but not all the oily rhetoric of the noble lord could prove, that if the committee only said, "Aye," the queen was not traduced and blasted. Besides, many things might happen after such an unfortunate result, and before the queen could accomplish the objects requisite to prove her innocence. And then, where was the essence which could wash out the blemish of such a report? No—it was vain to liken the committee to a grand jury. Here the object was to get confirmed the result of a previous inquiry, on which the ministers had expressed their opinion. He said, let them act upon that opinion, without going to the committee. Let them act on their own responsibility, without seeking to shelter themselves behind names more respectable than their own. Why did they not do so? but prizing their places so highly, and to which they held so fast, did they not dare to meet the question as men? He spoke the language of the constitution, when he said they should proceed on their own responsibility. But they sought to proceed by a tribunal that

her to hear evidence, to see the witnesses adduced against her, and to confront them by every means within her power. He, as a member of parliament, in the discharge of his duty to the house, and to the country, implored gentlemen, once more, to take into their serious consideration all the circumstances he now finally laid before them. His last prayer to the house on this occasion, the last wish he would breathe on the subject was, that the negotiation which unfortunately had not been brought to a favourable issue, might not be broken off all at once and for ever! but if it were possible, that the country should be spared those calamities to which such an inquiry must give rise. He implored the house to consider how far more virtuous an act they would do, by avoiding such an investigation, rather than by showing their constancy and perseverance in steering, however successfully, through these accumulated difficulties.

*Mr. Canning* assented to all that had fallen from the honourable gentleman respecting the painful nature of the inquiry. But that inquiry had been forced upon ministers, who had left nothing undone to avoid it. At an early part of the session, ministers were taunted with the dilemma of proving her guilt, or admitting her innocence. But ministers still kept silence, from a wish to avoid so painful an inquiry. In July, 1819, ministers had received a communication, pointing out the same terms as those offered. He did

gentleman had alluded to, any more than the child unborn. The whole was a secret transaction, and his lips were sealed until the result of this investigation; but then he would produce the original terms of that negotiation as his defence. He never had been employed by Lord Liverpool; none of the ministers had ever presumed to ask him to become their agent. The first proposals came not from Lord Liverpool, but from a much higher quarter. Lord Hutchinson was the agent of the government, and from him he expected terms; those terms required her to give up all titles borne by any branches of the royal family. He admitted that, in his opinion, if she could make up her mind on that subject, she had better stay abroad in the unhappy differences which had taken place.

*Mr. Tierney* said, it was honourable to the king to throw himself on his parliament; but was it true that he had wished for a compromise? If it were so, what had ministers done to promote it? Had they not sent persons from England to collect evidence against her? they had denied; but who did send them? They might shelter themselves behind the miserable quibble that no official commission had been made out. The right honourable gentleman had no need of being so very squeamish in retiring from office; for his firm persuasion was, that for the peace of the country, nothing could be better than that they should retire from office; for after what had

table of the house in all probability contained. Of the feeling with which ministers were actuated upon this occasion he could entertain no doubt; the question went far beyond the point of political feeling. Before he moved he was happy so clearly to perceive the inclination of the house. With his own motives he was satisfied: his only wish was to spare both parties the misery which must inevitably be their lot, if the existing proceedings were carried any farther. The honourable member concluded by moving that the debate should be adjourned until Friday the 9th.

Mr. F. Buxton and Mr. Williams Wynn spoke in its support.—Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Martin (of Galway), Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Gooch, Sir E. Knatchbull, and Mr. Davenport, spoke to the same effect.

*Lord Castlereagh* then replied to Mr. Tierney's remarks, after which, the question upon Mr. Wilberforce's motion—that this debate be adjourned until Friday—was then put, and carried without a division.

From the judicious and laudable secrecy which was admitted on all sides to be necessary in the prosecution of this momentous affair, few circumstances transpired through any private channel from which any rational conclusion could be drawn of the ultimate issue of the business; indeed, it was partly with the view of rendering her majesty less acceptable to particular individuals, through whose unshaken zeal in her cause,



her counsel, and of several members of the House of Commons, thinks it proper to inform Lord Liverpool, that she is ready to receive any proposition that is consistent with her honour, which his lordship may be disposed to make on the part of his majesty's government."

It was not without considerable reluctance, and after much persuasion accompanied by an intimation that the step was strongly advised by several members of parliament, friends to her majesty's interest, that the queen was induced even to make the communication in question to Lord Liverpool. Her majesty's desire was in the most unequivocal manner to submit herself to the united and independent wisdom of Parliament; boldly to challenge her accusers to the proof of the allegations which they had declared themselves ready to prefer against her, and firmly to demand the full and unqualified acknowledgment of all her rights as queen of this great empire; and, we believe we may state from authority, that it was her own private resolution to listen to no proposition which should have a tendency to throw the most distant shade upon her fair fame and reputation. She expressed a perfect consciousness of her own innocence, and declared that she was not to be intimidated by implied or positive threats of personal danger, to forget the respect due to the honour and dignity of the Queen of England.

The communication from her majesty gave,

been made to the Earl of Liverpool late in the day. He was sure, from the state of the feeling which he observed in the house, that they would not expect that he should enter into any explanation of the nature of that communication, from a regard to that delicacy which they were sensible it was becoming to observe on this important subject. At the same time he was desirous of preventing any impression being received from the circumstance of his recommending the present proceeding, that there was any alteration in his manner of viewing the question; or that he was actuated by any other feeling on the present occasion, than that which induced him to agree to the motion for adjournment on Wednesday last, viz., that of acting in obedience to what he conceived to be the prevailing wishes of the house.

*Mr. Brougham* rose immediately, and said that he perfectly concurred in the view which the noble lord took of the importance of this subject; and he perfectly understood, as he had no doubt the house did also, that the operation of the present motion would be that of merely keeping matters in exactly the same state as they were on the last night of this delicate discussion—it was to be understood that no difference existed in the sentiments of either party. With respect to the delay which the noble lord alluded to, in saying that the communication was not received till a late hour of the day, it was necessary to observe, that there had existed a misunderstand-

echoed from the house itself by all parts of the kingdom.

The question was then put and carried.

In the House of Lords, however, very different proceedings took place, which will be perused with peculiar interest, and the whole of which deserves to be recorded as a proof of the anxious disposition of Parliament to devise every means by which an exposure so injurious to the peace and happiness of the illustrious parties, and to the general tranquillity of the country, could be avoided.

On the same evening that Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment in consequence of her majesty's communication, Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords moved the order of the day for proceeding to ballot for a Secret Committee, pursuant to the vote of the preceding night.

The Clerks were about to hand about the balloting glasses, when

*Lord Kenyon* rose. Agreeing, his lordship said, as he did, in the vote of last night, and agreeing as he still did, in the propriety of that vote, he notwithstanding thought, from what had since occurred in the House of Commons, that there arose, if not a hope, at least a possibility of conciliation; and that thus the calamitous consequences of such an investigation might be avoided. A noble lord on the other side, from the expression of his countenance, seemed to accuse him (*Lord Kenyon*) of inconsistency; but he could

siders the subject ; but what I object to is, that nothing has been stated sufficient to induce this house to recede from its vote of last night, by not proceeding to the ballot. Let us proceed to the ballot, and then it will be perfectly consistent with the regularity of our proceedings to postpone the meeting of the Committee for a few days, in order that an opportunity may be given for the possibility of conciliation, if such is the wish of the house. I should therefore propose, after the ballot has taken place, that the meeting of the Committee should be postponed till Tuesday.

*The Marquis of Lansdown*—One thing is certain, my lords, that we came to a vote last night of which all that has since happened tends to render very doubtful the propriety. It now appears that even the opinion of the noble earl at the head of his majesty's government ought not to be taken as to what course the House of Commons may be likely to adopt, for we see that, instead of coming to a decision, they have postponed it ; and when it is stated that this postponement has taken place upon the ground of the possibility of conciliation, what becomes of the argument of the noble earl opposite, that this ought to be a cotemporaneous proceeding in both houses when he now objects to the motion of the noble baron for postponement, founded upon that very ground of the possibility of conciliation ? Disagreeing, as I did last night, in the vote of the house, and being still of opinion that it would

tion. Every consideration, in my mind, of delicacy, of propriety, of a desire to avoid the most unpleasant and injurious consequences, leads to the conclusion that an opening should be left for the hope or the possibility of conciliation, which can best be done by postponing the ballot ; and therefore, though I shall not press the house to a division, yet if a division is called for, I shall, of course, vote for my own motion.

*The Earl of Lauderdale*—My lords, I must say, that what was alleged by the noble lord, as to the conduct of the House of Commons being a reason for this house postponing the ballot, was (though I did not chuse to interrupt the noble lord) most disorderly. It is not for us to be swayed by what is done in any other House of Parliament ; we are only to look to our own proceedings : and most assuredly the dignity of the house requires that we should go on with that proceeding which, after due deliberation, has been voted. Whatever may have been my sentiments as to the propriety of that proceeding, I am decidedly of opinion that, it being the vote of the house, it would be most inconsistent with its dignity now to reverse that proceeding ; or to refuse to follow it up by the regular consequent step of the appointment of a Committee.

*Lord Holland*—My lords, I am sorry to differ from my noble friend who has just sat down ; but I must decidedly object to his notions of dignity, as being that which ought upon this occasion to

ously adopted ; for whatever may be said in this house, it is impossible for us to anticipate what may be the ultimate decision of the House of Commons.

*The Earl of Liverpool*—My lords, it becomes necessary for me to say a few words, as to the argument attributed to me of a cotemporaneous proceeding of both houses. I certainly never meant to state that this house ought to regulate its proceedings by the proceedings of the House of Commons. All I meant was, that so far as his majesty's government were concerned, it was thought the most advisable course to make the message a cotemporaneous proceeding in both houses ; but certainly no reason exists why we should delay proceeding to ballot for a Committee, which is in fact only a part of the proceeding of last night. The subsequent postponement of the meeting of the committee, for whatever motive of convenience, is a totally different question.

*The Earl of Carnarvon* supported the motion of Lord Kenyon, contending, that, practically, that and the proposition of the Earl of Liverpool came to the same point, as, if the committee were ballotted for on Monday, they could meet on Tuesday as proposed by the latter.

*The Earl of Darnley* also supported the motion of Lord Kenyon, and intimated his intention of taking the sense of the house upon it.

*Lord Erskine*—My lords, as my noble friend below me informs me that he shall divide the

negatives every idea of an impeachment, and shews that what he seeks is a legislative inquiry, and an act of parliament, if unfortunately it should be necessary ; because we ought not to presume the king asks us to put ourselves in a situation disqualifying us for what might afterwards be our duty, which I agree would be the case if we were now to examine the evidence, and afterwards to sit in judgment upon it under an impeachment. It is certainly true that the House of Commons might proceed against the queen by impeachment, though not at the instance and even against the consent of the king, who had bound himself to act in another manner by his message to both houses ; but can any supposition be more preposterous ? The highest wrong, if any has been committed, is to the king ; and it is only from the queen consort's situation, as it respects the public, that makes her infidelity a crime at all, and it cannot therefore be believed that, except at the instance of the king, an impeachment could take place ; more especially when his majesty had selected another mode of recovering for the public and himself the same measure of justice by a bill, if unfortunately necessary, beginning in either House of Parliament, each being at liberty to reject the opinion of the other. On that ground, I can feel no objection to the ballot which we consented to last night. We have acted as we ought to do, and we have no steps to retrace. I should be, of all mankind, the most inexcusable, if, con-

might then be differences of opinion, and malignity might avert them—and if we say there should be a proceeding, it would then be a public proceeding. As to the cause of the delay, I know nothing of it. The House of Commons has expressed no difference of opinion from any delivered in this house. It was perfectly notorious that there had been a negotiation to avert so painful and afflicting an inquiry, which had only been frustrated by her majesty's arrival, and by her own acts, as I have heard them represented; and if these acts are likely to be reconsidered, humanity, honour, and justice, ought to unite in rendering them practicable: and if, therefore, when Tuesday came, a glimpse of hope shall remain that the whole proceeding might be averted, another adjournment might take place; but after the ground on which the ballot was originally resisted, I cannot consent to say that we were in the wrong in adopting it, when I feel we were perfectly in the right.

*The Earl of Rosslyn* said, he had not heard a word from any noble lord tending to discountenance any proceeding which the house might think proper to adopt much less to refuse to his majesty any remedy which the nature of the case might require. The argument of yesterday was an attempt to persuade the house not to place itself in the difficult situation of appearing, in the slightest manner, and by the smallest number of its members, to prejudge a case, which might by



... to the illustrious person, and to the  
... most likely to be practically useful,  
... the most consistent with their own  
... and honour.

*Lord Ellenborough* thought it was a matter of perfect indifference which of the two courses were adopted; it was equally consistent with the dignity of the house, whether they adjourned the appointment of the committee, or having appointed, adjourned the committee itself. He would prefer the immediate appointment of the committee, with an order that it should sit on Saturday, because if any success was to be expected from the negotiation, it could only be obtained by shewing a determination on their part to persist in the discharge of their duty. This was the way to shorten the negotiation, and if there was any success to be expected, it must be from that alone.

*The Earl of Donoughmore* thought that the speeches of his noble friends referred so much to the proceedings of another place, they had the appearance of members transferred from one house of parliament to another. The manner in which they had taken up the business, looked as if that house had debated on an adjournment, for all the arguments they had now heard, had been urged last night, and the only new argument attempted now, with a view to persuade the house to alter its proceedings, was the course which the matter had taken in another place. He did not

reference to the present unfortunate differences existing between certain members of the royal family. He thought that it might suggest some practicable legislative measure, divested of a penal character, which might have the effect of relieving the secret committee appointed to sit on Tuesday of the most painful part of the duty which the house had imposed upon them. He said, that in his view of the case, the measure at which he pointed might possibly relieve both the parties from the unpleasant situation in which they had long been placed, without any disparagement or depression of the honour and character of either : he added, that he acted in this case, without the knowledge of, or concert with, any person enjoying the confidence of the illustrious characters to whom his proposition applied, the grounds of which he would fully disclose on Monday, if in the mean time some arrangement did not render it unnecessary, in which case he would defer the motion to a later day ; for, independently of any particular case, he had strong reasons for thinking that the act in question ought to be expunged from the statute book.

On Saturday the 10th, at an early hour in the morning, Messrs. Brougham and Denman waited upon her majesty, and had a consultation which lasted about an hour. About one, the following communication was made to Mr. Brougham from the Earl of Liverpool, in consequence of which Mr. Brougham sent a message to Mr. Denman,

The act of the 54th George III. cap. 160, recognised the separation of the Prince Regent from the Princess of Wales, and allotted a separate provision for the princess. This provision was to continue during the life of his late majesty, and to determine at his demise. In consequence of that event, it has altogether ceased, and no provision can be made for her until it shall please his majesty to recommend to Parliament an arrangement for that purpose.

The king is willing to recommend to Parliament to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of 50,000*l.* a-year upon the queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in courts of justice.

The annuity to cease upon the violation of those engagements, *viz.* upon her coming into any part of the British dominions, or her assuming the title of queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her.

Upon her consent to an engagement on the above conditions, Mr. Brougham is desired to obtain a declaration to this effect, signed by herself; and at the same time a full authority to conclude with such person as his majesty may appoint, a formal engagement upon those principles.

*April 15, 1820.*

Her majesty lost no time in replying to Lord Liverpool, for on the subsequent day the following communication was made :

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform Lord

tion, are the Psalms of that day, the 11th of the month :—

PSALM LVI. — *Miserere mei, Deus.*

1. Be merciful unto me, O God, for man goeth about to devour me : he is daily fighting, and troubling me.

2. Mine enemies are daily in hand to swallow me up : for they be many that fight against me, O thou most Highest.

3. Nevertheless, though I am sometime afraid : yet put I my trust in thee.

4. I will praise God, because of his word : I have put my trust in God, and will not fear what flesh can do unto me.

5. They daily mistake my words : all that they imagine is to do me evil.

6. They hold all together, and keep themselves close : and mark my steps, when they lay wait for my soul.

7. Shall they escape from their wickedness : thou, O God, in thy displeasure shall cast them down.

8. Thou tellest my fittings ; put my tears into thy bottle : are not these things noted in thy book ?

9. Whensoever I call upon thee, then shall my enemies be put to flight : this I know ; for God is on my side.

10. In God's word will I rejoice ; in the Lord's word will I comfort me.

11. Yea, in God have I put my trust : I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.

The following are impressive verses out of the Psalm which follows :—

1. Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee : and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge, until this tyranny be overpast.

3. He shall send from Heaven, and save me from the reproof of him that would eat me up.

The queen commands Mr. Brougham to acknowledge having received Lord Liverpool's note of last night, and to inform his lordship that her majesty takes it for granted that the memorandum of April 15, was not submitted to her before Saturday, only because her legal advisers had no opportunity of seeing her majesty until Lord Hutchinson was on the spot prepared to treat with her.

Her majesty commands Mr. Brougham to state, that as the basis of her recognition as queen is admitted by the king's government, and as his majesty's servants express their readiness to receive any suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, her majesty, still acting upon the same principles which have always guided her conduct, will now point out a method by which it appears to her that the object in contemplation may be obtained.

Her majesty's dignity and honour being secured, she regards all other matters as of comparatively little importance, and is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons, of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of parliament.

*12th June, 1820.*

On 14th June, agreeable to a requisition most respectably signed and presented to the Lord Mayor, a Court of Common Council was held, for the purpose of presenting a congratulatory address to her Majesty, Queen Caroline, on her arrival in this country. There was a great number of members present, and the bar was crowded to excess with strangers anxious to hear the discussion.

At a quarter past eleven the Lord Mayor took

After some very pertinent remarks upon the peculiar situation of the queen, and the indignities which had been offered, the worthy member concluded by moving the address.

Mr. James Williams seconded the motion.

Sir W. Curtis observed, that there had been a wish strongly and generally expressed by men of all parties, that this most important question should be treated with the greatest possible delicacy. Nobody could doubt the title of the queen. She was Queen of England, and must be queen; but while he deeply regretted the unhappy differences between the illustrious individuals, he thought that the less that was said, would be so much the better. He therefore would say no more than merely to move the previous question.

This was seconded by Mr. James, on which an interesting debate took place, when the question being put, the numbers were, for the previous question—The Lord Mayor, 5 Aldermen, and 18 Commoners, with 2 Tellers—Total 26.

Against it, 3 Aldermen, 103 Commoners, with 2 Tellers—Total 108. Majority 82.

Whilst these proceedings were carried on in the city, circumstances of a very important nature took place, not only in both houses of the legislature, but also between her majesty's legal advisers and the ministers of the crown. In the House of Lords, Lord Liverpool rose and observed, their lordships were aware that their secret committee was last ordered to commence its pro-

the resumed consideration of his majesty's message, for the purpose of postponing the discussion.

The order being read—

His lordship said, he trusted the house would feel that it would be unbecoming in him to state any thing that had passed between the illustrious parties concerned in the negotiation which induced him to propose this course. He should, therefore, abstain entirely from remark, and begged only to express a hope that they would keep themselves and their impressions in the same way as they were on a former night, till a full explanation of all circumstances could be given. He would suggest the postponement of the order till Friday, as the most convenient day; Thursday being appointed for a drawing-room, on which occasion it was usual to adjourn, that gentlemen might attend the court. He had thought it better to name at once the latter day, than to keep the question in suspense by postponements, and was sure the house would coincide with him that the earliest possible period should be taken to bring it finally before them.

On the question that the papers be referred to a secret committee, &c.

*Sir M. W. Ridley* rose, and declared that it was not his intention to transgress the bounds within which the noble lord had requested them to keep this evening. But he was desirous of expressing his most anxious hope that every indi-

sented favourable means of access to officious intruders, more than if her residence were better suited to her station.

*Lord Castlereagh*, consistent with the spirit in which he had brought forward his motion, could not enter into the subject of accommodation; from which, in his opinion, under all circumstances, the learned gentleman could have done as well to abstain. For himself, he would give no sincerer pledge of his intention, than by passing over in silence that which appeared to be unnecessary.

*Mr. Brougham* assured the noble lord he meant nothing offensive by alluding to the queen's present accommodation. He knew that she had had offers of a more suitable residence, and of money to any amount; but he merely mentioned it to shew that her situation was more liable to intrusion, and to the propagation of disclosures, than it might otherwise have been. His allusion was purely accidental.

The motion for postponement till Friday was then put, and agreed to.

Thus a further delay was allowed to the pending negotiation between the king and queen, and what is of greater consequence, the delay was required and proposed by those who in the first instance said that all attempts to negotiate were useless, and who really declined availing themselves of the time at first allowed for offering their propositions, and secondly, that they had no offer to make. These facts are stated from a sincere desire to promote the public good. We entreat



other, but as acting in concert with a view to frame an arrangement in compliance with the understood wish of Parliament, which may avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses.

2. The arrangement to be made must be of such a nature as to require from neither party any concession as to the result to which such inquiry, if proceeded on, might lead. The queen must not be understood to *admit*, or the king to *retract*, any thing.

3d. That in order the better to accomplish the above important object, it was proposed, that whatever might pass in the first conference should pledge neither party to any opinion; that nothing should be recorded without previous communication, and, as far as possible, common consent; and, that in order to facilitate explanation, and to encourage unreserved discussion, the substance only of what passed should be reported.

These preliminary points being agreed to, the questions to be examined (as contained in Lord Liverpool's memorandum of the 15th April 1820, delivered to Mr. Brougham previous to his proceeding to St. Omer's, and in Lord Liverpool's note of the 11th of June, and Mr. Brougham's note of the 12th of June, written by the queen's commands) were

1st. The future residence of the queen abroad.

2d. The title which her majesty might think fit to assume when travelling on the Continent.

3d. The non-exercise of certain rights of patronage in England, which it might be desirable that her majesty might desist from exercising should she reside abroad; and,

4th. The suitable income to be assigned for life to the queen residing abroad.

Her majesty's law officers, on the part of the

wishes of Parliament, could not be understood (in the absence of inquiry) to alter any of those impressions under which his majesty had hitherto deliberately and advisedly acted; and, that as it was at the outset stated, that the king could not be expected to retract any thing, no hope could be held out that the king's government would feel themselves justified in submitting such a proposition to his majesty. To this it was answered, that although the point of the liturgy was certainly not included by name amongst the heads to be discussed, her majesty's law officers felt themselves entitled to bring it forward in its connection with the question of her majesty's residence abroad. It was further contended, that the alteration in the liturgy was contrary to the plain sense and even letter of the statute, and that it was highly objectionable on constitutional grounds, being contrary to the whole policy of the law respecting the security of the succession, and liable to be repeated in cases where the succession itself might be endangered by it, and therefore it was said that a step so taken might well be retraced, without implying any unworthy concession. It was also urged, that the omission having been plainly made in contemplation of legal or parliamentary proceedings against her majesty, it followed, when these proceedings were to be abandoned, that the omission should be supplied; and it followed for the same reason, that supplying it would imply no retraction. It

any other proceeding could be suggested on the part of his majesty's government, which might render her majesty's residence abroad consistent with the recognition of her rights, and the vindication of her character; and, they specially pointed at the official introduction of her majesty to foreign courts by the king's ministers abroad. Upon this it was observed, that this proposition appeared open to the same difficulty in point of principle; it was calling upon the king to retract the decision formerly taken and avowed on the part of his majesty, (a decision already notified to foreign courts,) and to render the position of his majesty's representatives abroad, in relation to her majesty, inconsistent with that of their sovereign at home:—that the purpose for which this was sought by the queen's advisers was inconsistent with the principle admitted at the commencement of the conference, and was one that could not be reasonably required to be accomplished by the act of his majesty, namely, to give to her majesty's conduct that countenance which the state of the case, as at present before his majesty, altogether precluded. At the same time it was stated, that while his majesty, consistently with the steps already adopted, could not authorize the public reception of the queen, or the introduction of her majesty at foreign courts by his ministers abroad, there was nevertheless every disposition to see that branch of the orders already given faithfully and liberally executed,

balconies attached to the windows of the drawing-room. The cheers were instantly renewed with the utmost enthusiasm, accompanied with the clapping of hands and every expression of attachment and respect. The queen appeared sensibly affected by the ardour which was manifested, and, having made three very graceful obeisances, she immediately retired; whilst cries of "God bless you!" "Long live the Queen!" &c., resounded on all sides. The sheriffs' carriages then drove off; and shortly afterwards the greater part of the crowd had dispersed.

Her Majesty was dressed in black silk, with a rich collar of point lace; and wore on her head a black velvet cap, and plume of ostrich feathers.

On the 16th, the lord mayor went in state to the queen's residence with the address, voted to her majesty by the Common Council, on the preceding Wednesday. Long before the appointed hour, Portman-street was excessively crowded, and every window within view of the queen's residence, was filled with ladies. Even the tops of many houses were occupied; and coaches, carts, and other vehicles, were laden with people. At one o'clock the city procession arrived. It was preceded by the chief marshal, on horseback, in his state uniform, and in every respect was conducted in the same state as is usual in presenting addresses to the throne. The lord mayor's state carriage was followed by the carriages of the Aldermen Wood, Thorp, and

lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled; approach your majesty with sincere expressions of loyalty, attachment, and regard.

“ We condole with your majesty on the various afflictions your majesty has sustained since your departure from this country, by the loss of so many illustrious personages of your majesty’s family, especially by the demise of our late beloved sovereign, your majesty’s paternal guardian, whose countenance and support under the most trying circumstances, gave the best pledge to the nation of your majesty’s innocence and the firmest protection against all your enemies; and also that of your amiable and illustrious daughter, the princess Charlotte, the fond hope of Britain, whose memory will be ever dear to an affectionate people.

“ Deeply attached to the royal family, and anxious for the preservation of the public tranquillity, we feel ourselves called upon to express our earnest hope that the differences which unfortunately subsist may be arranged in a manner honourable to your majesty, as well as to your royal consort, and satisfactorily to the country; and that should an investigation of these differences be still unhappily resorted to, recognizing the dignified firmness which your majesty has manifested, by the solemn protest you have entered against all secret investigation of your conduct, so repugnant to common justice and to the feelings of Englishmen, we trust such investigation will be conducted in an open and impartial manner, and terminate in the complete vindication of your majesty’s honour.

“ We rely upon your majesty’s gracious acceptance of this address, as a proof of the loyalty and affection of your faithful citizens of London, and of their attachment to the illustrious house of Brunswick, which, they trust will long

continue to sway the British sceptre, and maintain the liberties and happiness of the people.

Signed, by order of the Court,

“ HENRY WOODTHORPE.”

To which her majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer :

“ I return you my heartfelt thanks for this dutiful address, which is both loyal to the king and affectionate to me. If any thing could lessen the grief which I must still feel for the loss of those dear relations, of whom I have been deprived since I left England, it would be the proofs I now receive upon my return, that their memories are cherished, as their virtues deserved.

“ In the new trials to which I am exposed, my first duty is to vindicate myself, and my next wish is to see nothing attempted that may hurt the feelings of others.

“ But in all the troubles through which I have passed, the generous attachment of the English people has been my safeguard against the king's enemies and my own, and be well assured that no time can ever weaken the grateful impressions of such obligations.”

The deputation then passed two and two before her majesty, and in so doing they received her acknowledgements individually. The shouts from the crowds in the street now became very vehement, and her majesty advanced to the window, which being opened, she leaned forward and bowed. She was received with reiterated cheers ; but as those persons only immediately in front of the house could obtain a sight of her, much struggling and confusion ensued. Alderman Wood, how-

ever, brought the hearth-rug, and laid it upon the bars, which floored the little balcony, and her majesty immediately stepped forward and bowed most gracefully on all sides, amidst the most enthusiastic cheers, the waving of innumerable handkerchiefs, &c. Her majesty wore a dress of rich peach blossom satin, with a hat of the same material, surmounted by a plume of white ostrich feathers, springing from an aigrette of brilliants. She also wore a superb diamond brooch in form of the plume and coronet of the Princess of Wales. After having bowed repeatedly, her majesty retired, and the Corporation immediately withdrew—the Aldermen Wood, Thorp, and Waithman, and Mr. Sheriff Parkins, being drawn by the populace. It is but right to say, this exhibition did not take place without very considerable resistance on the part of the worthy aldermen.

The lord mayor led the procession through St. Giles's, which created great disappointment to persons who were waiting to greet it by Fleet-street, the Strand, Pall-mall, &c. There was a great concourse, however, in the streets by which it did pass: occasionally a cry was raised against the lord mayor of "What am I to do?" &c.

We will not enter into the merits of the question of the propriety or impropriety of the city address, but we cannot refrain from remarking, that it speaks of a secret investigation, when it must have been well known that no secret inves-

tigation was ever in the contemplation of the ministers of this country. The committee of the House of Lords cannot be called a secret investigation, for it is analogous in every respect to a grand jury. The evidences indeed are not personally before them, but those facts are before them which can be proved by evidence, and which if proved, subject the accused party to the penalties of the act. A strong prejudice exists in this country against all secret committees, but on a broad view of the question, we think the prejudice to be unfounded, and in this opinion we are borne out by that, of one of the most eminent legal authorities in the country, and who is in general by no means inclined to sanction the measures of the present ministry. Nothing, however, is further from the intention of the ministers than a secret investigation; they have openly and most unequivocally declared, that the fullest opportunity shall be given to her majesty to disprove the charges against her by evidence; that power will be given to her legal advisers to examine the evidence against her, and that every advantage shall be offered to her, which the laws of the country allow her. It is also certain, that the ministers, on the supposition that the funds of her majesty might not be adequate to the great expense attendant on bringing her witnesses to England, have declared, that funds for that purpose shall not be withheld from her; and, although some jealousy is very probably excited in regard to



some clauses of the Alien Bill, which will have passed both houses of the Legislature before the second reading of the bill of Pains and Penalties in the House of Lords, as a power is thereby invested in the ministers of removing at pleasure any foreigner out of the country, and consequently her majesty might be deprived of her witnesses ; yet, a declaration has been substantively made by the ministers, that the provisions of the Alien Act shall not be put in force against the evidences of her majesty ; and it must be acknowledged that justice, which is the basis of English legislature, demanded this declaration from them. For, if the ministers were to exercise the sweeping power with which they are invested, of removing at their pleasure any of the witnesses in favour of her majesty, posterity would determine that the trial of her majesty was a partial one, and that as she was not allowed the evidence of her own witnesses, her guilt if proved would still rest upon presumptive evidence.

We cannot, however, look upon the character of the witnesses which are to be brought against her majesty, without feeling some alarm. An affidavit can be purchased as easily in Italy as a box of vermicelli, and, an Italian will take an oath as to a fact which he never saw, with the greatest indifference and *sang froid*. This evil lies in the absolving religion which he professes. He commits in the most unblushing manner the most barefaced perjury, but he exacts a handsome

sum for it; the act, if his conscience be not pretty well seared, preys rather heavily upon him—he hastens to his priest—confesses the heinous offence which he has committed—puts on a face of contrition—muttering a paternoster—and, having made a transfer of all his sins to the accommodating priest, he departs from the confessional, and mixes again in the world, to perjure himself again on the very first opportunity. Now, to a man of this description, what is the sacred obligation of an oath? If a man's evidence can be purchased, and it is an article of very common sale in Italy, what reliance can be placed upon it? Not that it is meant to say, that the evidence of all the witnesses against her majesty has been purchased, but when intelligence reaches us that certain individuals who gave their evidence before the Milan Commission, were persons of a menial station of life, and that one in particular is now lolling in his carriage, in all the plenitude of his infamy, and invested with the badge of the honourable band of spies and informers, we cannot refrain expressing our surprise at this sudden metamorphosis; and, as an effect is evident, which can only be produced by one cause, we must conclude according to the rules of logic, that that cause does actually exist, or in other words, we must conclude, that a man who has given his evidence on a most important question, and is immediately raised from a state of indigence to that of affluence, has been re-

warded for that evidence; but, as the circumstance here alluded to will be completely detailed in the course of the momentous trial, we shall abstain from enlarging upon it in the present stage of the proceedings.

The second conference between ministers and her majesty's law officers was held at the Foreign Office on the 16th, and the following was the result;

The king's servants began the conference by stating, that they had not failed to report with fidelity to the king's government, the proposition brought forward by her majesty's law-officers, that the queen's name should be expressly included in the liturgy, in order to protect her majesty against any misconstruction of the grounds on which her majesty might consent to reside abroad; that they were not deceived, for reasons already sufficiently explained, in anticipating the surprise of their colleagues at the production of this question, for the first time, on the part of her majesty, more especially in the present advanced state of the proceedings; that they were authorised distinctly to state, that the king's servants could on no account advise his majesty to rescind the decision already taken and acted upon in this instance; and that to prevent misconception, the king's government had charged the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh to explain that they must equally decline to advise the king to depart from the principle already laid down by his majesty for the direction of his representatives

abroad, with regard to the public reception by the king's ministers abroad, and introduction of her majesty at foreign courts; but that they were not only ready but desirous to guard in future, by renewed orders, against any possible want of attention to her majesty's comfort and convenience by his majesty's ministers abroad; and, that wherever her majesty might think fit to establish her residence, every endeavour would be made to secure for her majesty from that state the fullest protection, and the utmost personal comfort, attention, and convenience.

In explanation of the position in which the king actually stood upon this question in his foreign relations, the instructions under which the ministers abroad now acted were communicated to the queen's law officers, and their attention was directed as well to the principles therein laid down, and from which his majesty could not be called upon to depart, as to that breach of the instructions which were studiously framed to provide for the personal comfort and convenience of the queen when Princess of Wales.

The queen's law officers then stated, that they must not be understood to suggest the giving of a general power to her majesty to establish her court in any foreign country, and to be there received and presented by the English minister, because reasons of state might render it inexpedient, that under certain circumstances, such an establishment should be made; but they wished

that her majesty should have the power of being so received and treated by the English ministers where no such reasons of state interfered; and they inquired whether the same objection would exist to the public introduction of her majesty at some one court where she might fix her residence, if she waved the claim of introduction at foreign courts generally.

To this it was answered, that the principle was in fact, the same whether at one or more courts; and, that if the king could be consistently advised to meet the queen's wishes in this instance at all, it would be more dignified for his majesty to do so generally and avowedly, than to adopt any partial or covert proceeding.

The queen's law officers, referring to the decision of the judges in George the First's reign, said it would be a much more unexceptionable exercise of the royal prerogative, were the king even to prescribe where her majesty should reside, but to order her there to be treated as queen by his minister.

The king's servants, in consequence of what had passed at a former conference, then reverted to the mode in which the queen had arrived in England, and the pain her majesty must experience were she exposed to leave England in the like manner. They acquainted her majesty's law officers that they could venture to assure them, that this difficulty would not occur. The queen arrived in England contrary to the king's wishes

and representations ; but were her majesty now to desire to pass to the Continent, whether to a port in the Channel, or if it should more accord with her majesty's views, to proceed at once to the Mediterranean, a king's yacht in the one instance, or a ship of war in the other, might be ordered to convey her majesty.

After receiving these explanations, the queen's law officers resorted to the points before touched upon, viz., the inserting the queen's name in the liturgy, or the devising something in the nature of an equivalent, and intimated their conviction that her majesty would feel it necessary to press one or both of these objects, or some other of a similar nature and tendency. They then asked whether a residence in one of the royal palaces would be secured to her majesty, while in this country ; and observed, that her majesty had never been deprived of her apartments in Kensington-palace, until she voluntarily gave them up for the accommodation of the late Duke of Kent. It was replied, that the king's servants had no instructions on this point. They, however, observed, that they believed the apartments which her majesty formerly occupied when Princess of Wales, were at present actually in the possession of the Duchess of Kent ; and, that they considered that this point had been already disposed of, by supplying to her majesty the funds which were necessary to furnish her majesty a suitable residence.

Her majesty's law officers then inquired whether, supposing an arrangement made, the mode of winding up the transaction and withdrawing the information referred to Parliament had been considered, and whether the king's servants saw any objection in the present instance, to the Houses of Parliament expressing by suitable addresses, both to the king and queen, their grateful thanks for their majesties having acquiesced in an arrangement by which Parliament had been saved the painful duty of so delicate and difficult a proceeding. The king's servants acknowledged this point had not been considered, but reserved to themselves to report the observations made thereon to their colleagues.

It was then agreed, that upon every view of duty and propriety, the final decision should not be protracted beyond Monday, to which day it should be proposed that the proceedings on the king's message in the House of Commons should be adjourned on a distinct explanation to this effect, and that a conference should take place on the following day, in order to bring the business to a conclusion, and to arrange by mutual consent, the protocols of conference.

In consequence of the pending negotiation, the sitting of the committee of the House of Lords was postponed; as the Earl of Liverpool, on the 16th, moved in the House of Lords, to discharge the order of the day for the sitting of the Secret Committee to investigate the papers laid upon

the table by command of the king. His lordship said that in postponing the meeting of the Secret Committee, he conceived he had only to state that the same considerations which induced the house to consent to former adjournments still existed. He, therefore, now trusted that the motion would be acceded to.

*The Marquis of Lansdowne* could not abstain from remarking on the situation of their lordships with regard to the motion of the noble earl. In the first instance they had received a communication from the throne, whereupon a committee of inquiry was nominated, and yet, without any further royal communication, that committee was postponed, and continued so. There might, perhaps, be strong and cogent reasons for this conduct; reasons more strong and more cogent than even the imperative forms of their lordships' house; but, at the same time, if their lordships assented to the motion of the noble earl, which he would not oppose, it must be accorded on a strong understanding of its necessity.

*The Earl of Darnley* could not avoid a remark on the disgraceful and extraordinary situation of this house, in consequence, he maintained, of their having once been persuaded by his majesty's ministers to wait for the co-operation of the other house. He was, however, not desirous to offer much opposition in the present case, but he certainly did hope that it would operate as a warning to their lordships in future



*The Earl of Liverpool* said, after what had fallen from the noble marquis on the motion, he had no desire to say another word, as he wished to leave the reasons for postponement to be assigned at a fitter time. But, notwithstanding this reluctance, he could not allow the language of the noble earl to remain quite unanswered. Their lordships would recollect, that, on a former night, he had stated, as a motive for their adjournment, that certain discussions and explanations were going on, which might eventually lead to a desirable conclusion. He then had felt no impropriety in proposing an adjournment of proceeding in this important case; and he now conceived that explanations as to the causes of delay would follow with more propriety at an ulterior stage.

*The Earl of Darnley* said a few words in explanation, and concluded by hoping that those persons who advised their lordships to defer to the progress of the other house, would be able to justify their conduct to this house.

This was met by almost similar proceedings in the House of Commons, on the same evening.

*Lord Castlereagh* rose amid cries of *Order!* and said, Sir, I rise for the purpose of moving the order of the day for the consideration of his majesty's most gracious message be further postponed until the 19th. I have to express my regret at this delay, but circumstances have occurred which have rendered it indispensable, both on the part of her majesty's legal advisers, and of his

majesty's government. The house will therefore feel, that pending these circumstances, I am not in a situation to offer any explanation to the house. On every ground we feel this to be a question that ought not to be longer delayed, and on Monday the 19th, we hope to give a full exposition of the state of these important transactions. I have to beg the house will keep themselves and their impressions exactly in the same state as on the night the question was first adjourned.

*Mr. Tierney*—I do not wish, I am sure, to embarrass a question of so much importance; but I wish to be assured if Monday is the last day to which the adjournment is likely to be extended: Is it to be the last adjournment?

*Mr. Brougham*—I concur entirely with the noble lord as to the necessity of further delay; but no longer delay, I do assure the house, either has or shall take place than is absolutely required for such important arrangements. I feel the great anxiety that prevails on the subject, and the great delay in the furtherance of the public business, occasioned by the consideration of this momentous affair; but no blame is imputable to either of the parties. It has been the anxious wish of both of them to expedite the business, and beyond the 19th, I see no circumstances that can occur, in the ordinary course of human affairs, to prevent its being ended. I have also to add my hope to that so properly expressed by the noble lord, that the house will keep themselves

exactly in that state in which they separated on the first night of the adjournment.

On the following day the negotiators met at the Foreign Office, and the conference was opened by her majesty's law officers intimating, that, advert ing to what had passed on the preceding conference, they had nothing to propose, but to proceed to the adjustment of the protocol.

The king's servants then stated, that, before they entered into this business of arranging the protocol, they thought it their duty to advert to the points discussed in the preceding conference, upon which no explicit opinion had been expressed by them on the part of his majesty's government; they then declared, that they were authorized to inform the queen's law officers, that, in the event of her majesty's going to the continent, a yacht or ship of war would be provided for the conveyance of her majesty, either to a port in the channel, or to a port in the Mediterranean, as her majesty might prefer.

That every personal attention and respect would be paid by the king's servants abroad to her majesty, and every endeavour made by them to protect her majesty against any possible inconvenience, whether in her travels or residing on the Continent—with the understood reserve, however, of public reception by the king's ministers abroad, and introduction at foreign courts.

It was further stated by the king's servants, that having weighed the suggestion communicated

by the queen's law officers in the preceding conference, they were now prepared to declare, that they saw no difficulty (if the terms in which the same were to be conveyed were properly guarded to a proposition being made to both houses, for expressing by address to the queen as well as to the king, their grateful acknowledgments for the facilities which their majesties might have respectively afforded, towards the accomplishment of an arrangement by which parliament had been saved the necessity of so painful a discussion.

These observations not appearing to make any material difference in the views taken by her majesty's law officers of the result of the conferences, it was agreed to proceed in the arrangement of the protocols.

Before however the protocol was discussed, the king's servants desired distinctly to know from her majesty's law officers, whether the introduction of the queen's name in the Liturgy, and her majesty's introduction at foreign courts, were either of them a condition *sine qua non* of an arrangement on the part of the queen; to which it was replied, that either the introduction of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, or an equivalent, which would have the effect of protecting her majesty against the unfavourable inference to which her majesty might be liable in leaving the country under the circumstances in which her majesty was placed, was a *sine qua non*. The queen could not be advised voluntarily to consent to any

arrangement which was not satisfactory to her majesty's own feelings, however her majesty, with a view to meet the understood wishes of parliament, had felt it her duty to propose to leave the whole question to an arbitration.

No proposition on the part of her majesty, other than those already adverted to, was brought forward.

WELLINGTON.	H. BROUGHAM.
CASTLEREAGH.	T. DENMAN.

It was, however, not only in the metropolis, that her majesty's return to this country was hailed in the most enthusiastic manner. In every part of the kingdom, meetings were held, and the utmost festivity was maintained. It must, however, be mentioned to the discomfiture of those, who saw in those meetings nothing but the cloven foot of party and of faction, that in no one instance was a breach of the peace committed. Hilarity and decorum prevailed, and it must be added, that in no one instance was a spirit of the most genuine loyalty deficient.

At Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, the return of her majesty was celebrated in a very particular manner. On the 12th, a very large and respectable party met in that town, to form a procession in celebration of the return of her majesty the queen, to England. The procession commenced in the square in the front of the Town-hall, and proceeded in the following order :—

An oak bough : mottoes, ' Long live the King and Queen, may they stand like the Oak, and their Enemies fall like its Leaves ; ' ' King and Constitution ; ' ' Trade and Commerce ; ' ' Long Life to the Princess Victoria.'

A numerous band of music, composed of gentlemen amateurs ; a white banner, with the Royal arms, initials in gold, on black, ' C. E.,' surmounted in a drapery with a celestial crown ; motto, ' Britons will support their Queen.'

A crowned King and Queen, tastefully woven in flowers. His Majesty's banner on the right of the Queen.

A chaplet of laurel, with a transparent initial C.; and a regal crown, supported on each side with brilliant stars on laurel.

A Royal purple banner. Three tablets with inscriptions ' Brougham ; ' ' Ennobled Wood and his illustrious race ; ' ' Denman ; ' each ornamented with garlands of flowers.

The train consisted of upwards of 4,000 people, who moved round the town cheering, amidst the ringing of bells, and waving of handkerchiefs from different houses, and the pageant concluded with the chorus of ' God save the King,' and four times four cheers. A most respectable party then retired to the White Hart Inn, John Bourne, of Dalby-house, Esq. in the Chair, who, after addressing the meeting in a neat and applicable speech, gave ' Her most gracious majesty the Queen ; may injured innocence ever meet brave, honest, and able defenders ; ' three times three. A great number of other loyal and



constitutional toasts were given, and several national airs performed at intervals by the band. The evening terminated with the greatest harmony and hilarity.

On Sunday the 18th, Divine Service was performed before her majesty, at her residence in Portman-street, by the Rev. G. A. Brown. After dinner her majesty took an airing in her carriage, when immense crowds assembled to see her.

As Monday the 19th was fixed by parliament for proceeding on the important question of the king's message, on the failure of the negotiation, it was therefore necessary that the utmost expedition should be used by the negotiators; accordingly they met on the Sunday at Lord Castle-reagh's, in St. James's-square, and the following is the protocol of the conference.

Before proceeding to finish the discussion of the protocols, it was suggested, on the part of the king's servants, if possible to meet the queen's wishes, and in order the better to assure to her majesty every suitable respect and attention within the particular State in which she might think fit to establish her residence (the Milanese or the Roman States having been previously suggested by her majesty's law officers, as the alternative within her majesty's contemplation) that the king would cause official notification to be made of her majesty's legal character as queen, to the government of such State.—That consistently, with the reasons already stated, it must

rest with the sovereign of such State what reception should be given to her majesty in that character.

The king's servants were particularly anxious to impress upon the queen's law officers the public grounds upon which this principle rested.

The general rule of foreign courts is to receive only those who are received at home.

The king could not with propriety require any point, of foreign governments, the refusal of which would not afford his majesty just grounds of resentment or remonstrance.

It would be neither for the king's dignity, nor for the queen's comfort that she should be made the subject of such a question.

To this it was replied for the queen, that with respect to this new proposition on the part of the king's servants, it should be taken into immediate consideration; but her majesty's law officers observed, that her majesty was not in the situation referred to in the above reasoning, having been habitually received at court in this country for many years, and having only ceased to go there in 1814, out of regard to the peculiarly delicate situation in which the unfortunate differences in the royal family placed the late queen.

The latter observation was met, on the part of the king's servants, by a re-assertion of his majesty's undoubted authority on this point, whether as king, or as Prince Regent in the



exercise of the royal authority, that the court held by her late majesty was in fact the court of the Prince Regent, then acting in the name and on the behalf of his late majesty, and that the present queen, then Princess of Wales, was excluded from such court.

WELLINGTON.	H. BROUGHAM.
CASTLEREAGH.	T. DENMAN.

Early on the 19th, the negotiators again met at the Foreign Office, and the fifth and last protocol was signed by the respective parties.

The protocols of the preceding conferences were read and agreed upon.

Her majesty's law officers stated, that the proposition of the preceding day had been submitted to her majesty, and that it had not produced any alteration in her majesty's sentiments.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the expression used on mentioning their belief that her majesty might overcome her reluctance to go abroad, *viz.*, "under all the circumstances of her position," they stated that they meant thereby, the unhappy domestic differences which created the difficulty of her majesty holding a court, and the understood sense of parliament, that her majesty's residence in this country might be attended with public inconvenience.

They also protested generally, in her majesty's name, against being understood to propose or to desire any terms inconsistent with the honour and

dignity of the king, or any which her own vindication did not seem to render absolutely necessary.

MEMORANDUM.—The second and third points as enumerated for discussion in the protocol of the first conference where not brought into deliberation, in consequence of no satisfactory understanding having taken place upon the points brought forward by her majesty's law officers.

The five protocols were then respectively signed.

WELLINGTON. H. BROUGHAM.  
CASTLEREAGH. T. DENMAN.

Never, in the annals of parliament, was a more intense anxiety displayed by the public to become acquainted with their proceedings, than what was evinced on the evening of the 19th. Every avenue to either house was literally choaked, for although some well-founded rumours had been circulated, in the course of the day, that the negotiation had failed, yet as some hopes of adjustment remained, it was the ardent wish of every one that those hopes should be realized; the result, however, shewed on what a baseless foundation those hopes were built, for in the House of Lords,

*The Earl of Liverpool* rose soon after five, and observed, that since the communication made from his majesty to their lordships, and since the election of a secret committee, in pursuance of that

communication from the throne, circumstances of which their lordships were all aware, he had considered it his duty to move, from time to time, for postponing the sitting of the secret committee for investigating the papers laid by his majesty's command on the table of the house. The reason of his doing this was owing to communications and explanations then going on, and which many had hoped would ultimately lead to a most desirable end. He regretted to be under the necessity of stating, that such communications and such explanations had not terminated in that result so much hoped for, he was certain, by their lordships, by the other house of parliament, and by the country at large, and which had even been expected by him. He must candidly state, as the business now unfortunately stood, that he should not have conceived he himself had done his duty, if he had refrained from advising his majesty to lay before their lordships the papers and correspondence which had passed on this painful subject since the negotiation commenced. Those papers he now held in his hand, and should present them by his majesty's command, so that they might be in readiness by the following day, (the 20th). But as it was desirable to allow time for considering them, he should propose to discharge the order for the meeting of the secret committee, and fix that event for Friday the 23d, an arrangement to which he anticipated no opposition from the noble lords.



*The Marquis of Lansdown* was desirous to be informed what course was intended to be pursued with respect to the papers now laid upon the table by his majesty's command. If the secret committee were to assemble for investigation on the 23d, there certainly would be no opportunity for considering them.


*The Earl of Liverpool* said, that as their lordships would be in possession of the papers now communicated before the actual meeting, it was competent to any noble lord, if he saw fit, to make a motion on them antecedently to the sitting of the secret committee. But he, certainly, had at present no notice to give.

*The Marquis of Lansdown* said, if he understood the noble earl opposite, there really was nothing in the contents of the papers just communicated to prevent the sitting of the secret committee on the 23d.

*The Earl of Liverpool* here observed, that respecting the documents in question, all he intended was to present them, as he already had done, by his majesty's command, and to move that they should immediately be printed for the information of the house. It would remain for their lordships then to determine what course it appeared most proper to take.

*Earl Grey* entered his protest against the proceeding by the medium of a secret committee in the present case, and wished at the same time for some explanations from his majesty's ministers.

What he would demand, was the situation in which their lordships stood? A message in the first instance came down to their lordships from the crown, exhibiting charges against her majesty the queen consort of a most serious nature, and soliciting the advice of the house. Ministers soon after thought it expedient to propose an adjournment of the affair, not as it appeared to him upon any solid grounds, but probably to watch the progress of the other house of parliament, and ascertain what that branch of the legislature was likely to do; though he would contend that it was most improper in their lordships to adjourn their own proceedings in order first to ascertain what course would be taken by the House of Commons. At length, after some discussion and explanation, both ended to the great regret of the noble earl (Liverpool,) and also of the public. After all this, the papers in relation to the negotiation so terminated are laid before the house; and now, what he wanted to know was, why were those papers so laid before them—with what view, and to what end? It was absolutely the very first time, he believed, in which papers as between the king himself and a subject had been laid upon the table as in the present case. Wherefore the secret committee was to proceed at all, without first considering the papers, or why, indeed, they were not to proceed at once, could not be collected from either the language or measures. He apprehended that it was the duty



of advisers of the crown, before whom all lay open, to have previously made up their minds before they came down to Parliament on the case; but the present was of a-piece with all the rest of their conduct, in shrinking from a responsibility they ought to have courted, and shifting from themselves on their lordships the execution of a disagreeable duty, which belonged in reality to them. Thus was completed that measure of disgrace into which, in common with his noble friends, the house had fallen by adopting the advice of the noble earl.

*The Earl of Harrowby* was satisfied that noble lords opposite would never be able to substantiate their charges against his majesty's ministers, with all the eloquence of the last noble earl, except they first succeeded in making out a similar case. If, therefore, in such an affecting and momentous case as the present one, where no light could be derived from precedent, and even that afforded by analogy was dubious and faulty, he must continue to believe that his majesty's ministers had acted with propriety in resorting to Parliament for legislative guidance. With respect to the objections of the noble earl against the adjournments which had taken place, he would put it to all their lordships who attended at different times, whether that delay was not as much in consequence of the feelings of noble lords on each side, who hoped that the queen might thereby come out of the dilemma, and spare Par-

liament and the country the most painful necessity of proceeding to ulterior steps? Upon the rupture of a negotiation begun and continued with such views, in which ministers had endeavoured to execute what both houses were desirous of, he conceived that ministers would not merely be blamed, but censured, were they not to communicate to Parliament the grounds upon which the negotiation was carried on, and the circumstances which unhappily had induced the result. With this feeling, his majesty had been advised to communicate to both houses the papers now upon the table of the house. With respect to the objection that ministers had proposed no measure, this was nothing unusual in either house. Nothing was more common than to lay papers on the table, without calling for an opinion from Parliament, even in the case of treaties by which long wars were concluded. With respect to that responsibility which ministers were supposed to dread, their lordships had hitherto no well-grounded cause to entertain this charge; and he trusted that, if confidence were required yet, their lordships would not be deceived in the end. Impressed in this manner with respect to the present case, he hoped that in an affair so delicate and so distressing, and so painfully novel to them, it was proper advice not rashly to steer upon an ocean where there was no compass. He was not willing to add one word more; but, satisfied with the line of conduct that had been

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adopted, he was convinced that no other course could have been taken in such a case.

*Lord Holland* still conceived that his noble relation (*Grey*) had reason in expressing his dissatisfaction at the mode of laying the papers in question on the table of their lordships' house. What was the object of depositing them there—to further the proceedings it seemed they were about to take, or to prevent any proceeding at all? Ministers now assured their lordships that every thing was done by Government to avert those disclosures. But what certainty had their lordships on this point? and what reasons were given by ministers for the measures they advised their lordships to take? Certainly none, that he could discover. Did, he would ask, his majesty's ministers act in this manner when they plumped on Parliament with their silken bags filled, or supposed to be so, with secret plots? Oh, no! Filled with horrors at the evils they were the bearers of, on these occasions his majesty's ministers could come down, not only with full, but inflated descriptions to alarm the public mind, secrets were exposed, and their lordships had no reason to complain of ignorance on the subject. Such in this instance was the shifting and shaking of the reputed props of the state, that he could almost bring himself to be a Tory, seeing the monarchical part of the Constitution so surrendered by ministers to either house. What was this conduct in ministers but saying to the



house, in effect, "We will continue to keep our places and our holidays, and your lordships may do our business for us." Even the noble earl (Liverpool) did not, if he understood him well, at first expect the negotiation to end favourably. Far better would it have been for ministers had they profited by the admonition of one of his noble friends near him (Lansdowne) and put off the proceeding at first, appointed no Secret Committee, but left affairs to take their natural course. "No" cried the noble earl and his side, "such a line of proceeding will be inconsistent with the dignity of this house. We cannot wait for the other house. Let us go on to the ballot, and shew our determination to act." And now he would ask their lordships, what had become of their dignity in this unhappy case? Could they imagine they were raised on a pedestal by rejecting the warning of his noble friend? Was it dignified to have kept fifteen noble lords suspended like judges in the air? If ever it was determined to try conciliation at all between personages so prominently illustrious, why were not proceedings in that case suspended at once? Suppose, in the event, that the House of Commons should, after all, now refuse to ballot for a Secret Committee, where, indeed, would be their lordships dignity? He was sorry the word escaped his lips, but he could not help repeating it, and declaring that the whole proceeding was disgraceful to the house

*The Earl of Darnley* was of opinion, that the postponement was in deference to the wish of both houses, and not simply to this house. If the other house had appointed a Secret Committee at once, was it not probable that their lordships would have gone on?

*The Earl of Harrowby* could not perceive how the adjournments in this business were attributable to those noble lords only with whom he had the honour to act. His opinion was, that it had been the express wish of all noble lords, that further time should be afforded for discussions and explanations, even as long as any hope remained of a favourable result. It was indisputably clear, indeed, that their lordships had not voted so, but the opinion was implied by adjourning from time to time in the manner they did.

*Earl Grey* allowed that papers had occasionally been laid upon the table in silence, and no proceedings then had; but, on the other hand, when such documents were communicated with a view to ulterior proceedings, it was unprecedented not to explain the object of them. Notwithstanding all he had heard, he was wholly at a loss to conjecture on what solid grounds their lordships would postpone their proceedings to the 16th. Whenever that day should come, it was probable the language of ministers would be—"Propose what you like, we shall propose nothing." Then should any one propose what ministers did not

like, the whole might amount to no proposition at all.

*The Marquis of Lansdowne* said, it certainly had been his fate to submit a proposition to their lordships in the first instance, on broad constitutional grounds, to abstain altogether. But, notwithstanding his objections, their lordships were induced to adopt a contrary course, nor did any one resist the motion for a Secret Committee. The second day, before one word could be uttered, the noble earl opposite held out to their lordships the boon of conciliation, which determined a further delay.

*The Earl of Liverpool* now observed, that he felt as strongly satisfied as ever that in proposing the balloting for a Secret Committee, their lordships were induced to pursue the most constitutional course. If he was satisfied they were doing right at the time they agreed to ballot, that satisfaction was strengthened from whatever had occurred since. After the ballot there arose good reasons for suffering the meeting of the Secret Committee to stand over. This he stated at the time; but it seemed he was misapprehended, or had spoken loosely, with regard to what he originally had entertained as his own opinion of the result of negotiation. To the best of his recollection on this point, he still supposed that he had spoken with due caution; and all he intended to say was, that he individually

had heard nothing to induce him to support the motion for postponement, but in deference to reports which had reached him, and the feelings which seemed to pervade their lordships' minds, he consented to a short adjournment. After this, their lordships might remember he stated that explanations and discussions were going on, and there appeared a well founded hope of adjustment. Here the matter stood, till this night, when he laid the papers in relation to the negotiation, now ended, on the table of the house. But their lordships should always bear in mind the difficulties, as well as the delicacy of this extraordinary case, and that there existed no precedent for them.

*Lord Rolle* here rose, remarked there was no question yet before their lordships, and moved to adjourn the house.

*Lord Holland* now explained.

*Lord Dacre* intimated the possibility of their lordships not finding the Commons in concert with their present course, and the insurmountable perplexity to be apprehended in this case. He was desirous of gathering some information from ministers; but at present he would suppose that the noble earl opposite thought the papers now laid upon the table would furnish some grounds of proceeding, and so far the noble earl expressed an opinion. He wished to know, however, how far the papers went? Were they only those passing last week; and if only those, would an-



terior ones be allowed, in order to judge fairly of the whole?

*Lord Rolle* repeated his motion for adjourning the house; which, was resisted by *Lord Holland*, who moved that the papers should be now read.

*Earl Spencer* supported the motion that the papers be read.

*The Lord Chancellor* spoke to order, and reminded their lordships, that a motion of adjournment had been made, but themselves would determine whether the speeches they were hearing had any connexion with the motion.

The motion for reading the papers, superseded that for adjourning the house; and the titles were accordingly read:—

- No. 1. Copy of a Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 9, 1820.
- No. 2. Copy of the Answer addressed thereto by the Earl of Liverpool, on the 10th of June.
- No. 3. Copy of a Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 10.
- No. 4. Answer of a Letter in reply to that of the Queen from the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 11.
- No. 5. Copy of a Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Liverpool, dated June 12.
- No. 6. Answer of the Earl of Liverpool to the same, dated June 13.
- No. 7. Copy of a Note addressed by the Earl of Liverpool on the 13th of June to his Majesty.
- No. 8. A Copy of a Note addressed by Mr. Brougham to the Earl of Liverpool, stating her Majesty's consent

to the appointment of two persons on her behalf, for settling all matters in dispute between herself and his Majesty.

No. 9. An Appendix, containing the names of the persons proposed as arbitrators on the part of the Queen, with a view to conclude an arrangement; dated June 15.

No. 10. A Memorandum of an arrangement proposed to the Queen, on the 13th of April last, previous to her coming to England.

No. 1. Protocol of the first conversation held on this subject at St. James's-square.

No. 2. Protocol of the second conversation held at the Foreign Office.

Nos. 3 and 4. Protocols of the third and fourth conversations held at St. James's-square.

No. 5. Protocol of the fifth and last conversation held on this subject at the Foreign Office\*.

*The Earl of Lauderdale* here wished to be informed, if the noble earl opposite was disposed to communicate such papers as had passed in this affair, not only on but before the 9th of June. He was anxious to inspect the whole evidence and facts, in order to see whether it was prudent or wise to have negotiated at all since her majesty had arrived here, or whether the business was fruitless from the first. The noble Earl had himself the advantage of seeing the whole of the papers now referred to; while

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\* These papers have been all given according to their respective dates.

their lordships saw only their detached parts, for any thing to the contrary yet known. He wished to have the antecedent parts.

*The Earl of Liverpool* had no objection to produce one document of anterior date, the only one then officially communicated to him. When the whole of the papers 'were before the house, noble lords would' be enabled to form' their opinions on the entire case, with explanations of particular parts.

*Lord Erskine* wished to know if the noble lord thought it possible for them to advise the king, whether the negotiation would prove efficient or non-efficient if their lordships were ignorant of the contents of the papers upon which that negotiation had been established. That was a question which could be decided by his majesty's government alone, because they had seen the papers; but their lordships would never venture to deliver an opinion on a subject of which they knew nothing whatever. He, for one, therefore, should never give his opinion upon such information; at the same time he did not wish it to be supposed that he felt any anxiety to drag open the question. He had consented to the Secret Committee, because he considered it both a legal and constitutional proceeding; but the present was a question totally distinct from that proceeding, and until he heard those papers, he, for one, would never deliver an opinion on the present subject.

The question was then put, and the house adjourned.

In the House of Commons the proceedings were of a more limited nature.

*Lord Castlereagh* appeared at the bar of the house, and acquainted the Speaker, that he had it in command from his majesty, to lay before the house certain papers, which he then held in his hand, relative to the late negotiation between their majesties. The papers were then presented, and the title of them read by the clerk at the table, which were the same as those read in the House of Lords.

*Lord Castlereagh* then rose and said, he felt it his duty to state to the house, that his majesty had been induced to order these papers to be laid before them, in order to show the house that every effort had been made to relieve Parliament from an inquiry of this painful nature, and prevent the necessity of the house proceeding further in the investigation. Having failed in accomplishing that object, he had been authorised to present to the house the papers just then read. His majesty on ordering him to bring down these papers, had made a complete communication of the whole of the proceedings which had taken place on the subject of the differences existing between those illustrious individuals, and it was with pain he had to communicate that the result had not led to any satisfactory arrangement. His majesty felt the extreme importance of the question about to



be agitated, and was accordingly anxious that, before the house should enter into any discussion of the subject, the whole of those papers, concluding the series of information of what had been done up to the present time, should be laid before them, so as to shew the nature of the efforts which had been made to bring about a satisfactory arrangement. It would be improper on his part, as well as unsatisfactory to the public, if the house were suffered to proceed in the investigation of a subject of so much importance without the most complete and authentic information, so as to relieve the house in some degree, from the painful situation in which it was now likely it would be placed. These papers were already in the act of being printed, and he hoped they would be ready to-morrow early for the members' information. Under these circumstances, he felt it his duty to propose, first, that the order of the day for resuming the debate on his majesty's message should be adjourned until Wednesday the 14th; and next, to follow it up with a motion, that the papers be printed. This mode of proceeding, he trusted, would enable the house more adequately to determine what should be done under all the difficulties of the case. He concluded by moving the papers should be printed.

*Mr. Brougham* wished it to be understood he concurred in the statement which had been made by the noble lord of the nature of the proceedings which had taken place with reference to this

subject, and, in common with the noble lord, he as deeply regretted that these efforts should have been made in vain. The noble lord could not feel deeper or more sincere regret than himself, at the unfortunate failure of those overtures for accommodating the differences subsisting between the illustrious individuals in question. He thought the house would not be of opinion, after it had seen the papers now laid on the table, that there was any reason to award blame to her majesty. He was not hereby disposed to cast any blame on the disposition manifested on the part of the other illustrious individual concerned. Amongst the many unfortunate peculiarities of this case, it had one striking peculiarity, that the house might, after it had seen these papers, be of opinion that blame did attach in another quarter.

**The further debate on this question was, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, then adjourned until Wednesday the 21st.**

**It may be necessary to enter a little into detail respecting the failure of this negotiation, without the slightest imputation being thrown out of any attempt to prejudge the question of the guilt or innocence of the illustrious individual, whose cause is now become the cause of the whole nation. It ought to be admitted, as the ground-work of every argument which is advanced on this momentous question, that the queen is actually innocent, until the laws of her country have determined upon her guilt; and further, that that determination has**

been decided upon after the most solemn and impartial examination of the witnesses which are to be brought forward not only in support of the charges, but also against them. It is sufficiently painful for us to know, that as every avenue to an amicable adjustment between the illustrious parties appears to be closed, that we shall be compelled ere long to enter upon discussions of a most delicate and distressing nature. The object proposed by the late negotiation originated in the earnest desire of the House of Commons, as guardians of the public morals and of the public peace, to prevent disclosures, which would in all probability be fatal to both. To this wish of the house the ministers deferred, though with little hope of any beneficial result, although it must be owned that in many instances a particular part of the public press was prostituted rather to inflame the minds of the people, than to promote an amicable adjustment of the truly unfortunate differences. Her majesty was taught to look upon the persons who conducted the negotiation on the part of the king, not as persons anxious for the dignity of the crown and the peace of the country, but as actual monsters thirsting for her blood, and seeking to wreck her fortune and her fame for ever by the oath of suborned witnesses. Attempts were made to convince the people, that the negotiators as well as the ministers, were persons who had actually fabricated false charges affecting the very life of the queen, which were to be sup-

ported by perjured evidence, and, that like a victim of the Inquisition, she was to be condemned in secret and unheard. It is far from our wish to panegyrisé the individuals who at this moment hold the reins of government, they are by no means exempt from the fallibilities of human nature, but they are men of honour, and in private life of the most unimpeachable character; we ask, therefore, whether the monstrous atrocity imputed to them would be credited of any English nobleman, or any English gentleman? Do the functions of a minister absolve him from all ties of humanity, or does the tenure of an office grant him a charter to level the shafts of destruction at the fortune, fame, and even the life of an individual, whether of a low or an exalted station, upon merely fabricated charges, and to refuse the accused party every means and opportunity of rebutting them? Could the ministers without contradicting the whole tenor of their lives, without sinning against common sense and common honesty, be guilty of the conduct which has been attributed to them?

In the open avowal of these sentiments we wish by no means to be considered as departing from that strict line of impartiality which will be the chief characteristic of this work. We dispute not the innocence of the queen, nor do we presume upon her guilt; we are bound to believe in the former, until the latter has been confirmed and substantiated by the most irrefutable evidence.

These allegations in this instance, will not avail, but let the question be fairly stated. Suppose that evidence has been laid before the ministers of this country, imputing charges of gross impropriety of conduct; we will even go further, and say of criminality, against the queen. Are they to shut their eyes to that evidence—are they to gloss it over as a mere every-day transaction, unworthy of their examination; and if that examination be thought worthy of their attention, ought it to be passed over slightly? Have the ministers shewn themselves to be men so utterly devoid of all sagacity, so bereft of common sense, as to venture the serious lengths to which they have now gone, upon common report, upon the mere tittle tattle of discarded menials, and to institute one of the most solemn and serious charges which was ever brought against an individual, without any thing to warrant them in the undertaking? But on the supposition that proceedings will be instituted against her majesty, it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that an English minister dare to withhold from her the fullest and fairest means of defence. The minister brings forward his alleged proofs of criminality; these must necessarily be exposed to the severest scrutiny, and weighed in the most equal balance against such defensive evidence as may be adduced; therefore, as the queen is not to be prejudged, the ministers are certainly entitled to the same respect and consideration; they have also characters to support,

and as we reprobate every attempt to make her majesty the sport of calumny, equally so do we condemn that factious spirit which is ever on the alert to calumniate those whose painful duty it is to bring forth the charges against her majesty. It is possible, and it is the sincerest wish not only of ourselves, but of every friend to his country, that the result of future investigation may be to disprove the heaviest charges against her majesty. But it must be still admitted, that the evidence which the ministers have submitted to parliament is entitled to the most grave and serious consideration.

It has been already stated that the consideration of his majesty's message, had been postponed in the House of Commons, until Friday the 22d; in the mean time, however, a meeting was held of the leading county members, in which it was resolved to make every effort to bring about a conciliation between the illustrious parties, and to prevent that exposure which could not but be subversive of the morals and peace of the country.

It will be seen by the public documents, which have been regularly given under their respective dates, that although the negotiation failed, yet that concessions were mutually made, on which the basis of an arrangement might be formed, satisfactory to the feelings and compatible with the honour both of the king and queen. Her majesty yielded to the sense of parliament, and consented to reside



abroad, and on the other hand, his majesty had been advised to cause official notification to be made of her majesty's legal character of queen to the government of the State, in which she should reside. This certainly was a considerable approximation to an amicable arrangement; it must, however, be admitted that something of the cloven foot appeared in this notification, for it was accompanied with the intimation, that his majesty's ministers would not presume to say whether the foreign government would pay any attention to the notification. This they certainly could not take upon themselves to pronounce definitively, but it is past all doubt, that his majesty's ministers had it in their power to remove every obstacle in the way of that notification being acted upon, and the first of which was the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy. If she were unworthy of being prayed for in her own country, was she worthy of being received in the supermoral courts of Italy and Austria, in which the prayers of the righteous are supposed to possess double weight with that Being to whom they are addressed; and therefore, according to the minister's own view of her majesty's character, they were the most proper courts for her majesty to repair to. It is, however, a principle in human nature to be most vociferous in the condemnation of those particular vices, to which some illnated monitor tells us that we are ourselves particularly addicted. Her majesty was to return to Italy,

unabsolved from the imputation of infidelity to the marriage bed. Is such an act unknown in the profligate courts of Italy? or does not the cornuted husband actually reside under the same roof with the sharer of his wife's affections? Is it not almost made a part of the marriage settlement, that the lady should have a companion to enliven her dreary hours, when her lawful husband is abroad? and these are the virtuous, the continent gentry, who, mounted upon the stilts of decorum, turn aside and look askance when an illustrious female comes amongst them, who is only suspected of that crime which they are hourly practising, and whose suspicion rests upon the testimony of degenerate beings like themselves.

The veriest foe of her majesty will not deny her a depth of penetration and a solidity of judgment, seldom attained by a female: she can say in the words of the poet—

I have seen many cities, and the manners of many men

and even the enlightened, the classical Canning, calls her "an ornament of her sex!" With the knowledge therefore which her majesty has acquired of the Italian character, with all its bigotry, its superstition, and its profligacy, she considered the restoration of her name in the Liturgy as indispensable to her reception at an Italian court, and especially one under the control of the Austrian government. As, however, retraction is not a



part of royal etiquette, as it presupposes a previous action founded in error, which is contrary to the known principles of the English constitution, her majesty, with a view of conceding every thing but her honour, comes forward, and by her advisers, says, "If you will not restore my name to the Liturgy, then adopt some equivalent measure, which shall have the effect of protecting me against the unfavourable inference to which I shall be liable on leaving the country under the circumstances in which I am placed."

Thus a fresh opening was made for the accommodation of this important difference—and Mr. Wilberforce, to his credit be it spoken, seized the opportunity, and on the 20th, in the House of Commons, rose and said, that in consequence of the failure of the late negotiations between the king and queen, he felt it his duty to give notice, for the following day, of a motion on the subject.

*Mr. Brougham* said, that to-morrow being a notice day, the motion of the honourable member would, according to the rules of the house, take precedence of the discussion of the noble lord (Castlereagh's) motion. He threw out this, not for the purpose of objecting to the honourable member's motion, but in order to inquire whether it would not be as well to pursue the same course upon this as upon former negotiations. That course was to lay upon the table a statement of the grounds on which the negotiation had failed. If

this were done, it would, perhaps, lead, on the part of ministers, to a defence of the opposite party. Until this took place, it was desirable that all parties should abstain from touching either directly or indirectly, on the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted, because the grounds upon which the parties acted could not be fairly examined. This course would not in any manner, preclude the fullest inquiry into the subject.

*Lord Castlereagh* was not aware that the honourable and learned member was correct in the view which he took of the mode of proceeding adopted on former negotiations. On a variety of occasions he had seen that no consideration was had as to the manner in which negotiations had been conducted. For instance, in the negotiations at Vienna the course now suggested had not been pursued. As to the other part of the honourable and learned member's speech, he (*Lord Castlereagh*) had no hesitation in saying that he did not feel it necessary to enter into any justification of the course taken by his majesty's government respecting this negotiation. The house would form its own judgment from the papers which had been laid on the table. He was aware that his honourable friend's motion would have precedence on the following day; but even if that were not the regular course, he should gladly bend to any measure which in the judgment of the house would render the further

discussion of his motion unnecessary. It was undoubtedly open to the honourable member, or to the house, to make any motion on the subject, as the parties more immediately concerned would afterwards have an opportunity of considering of what Parliament thought on the subject. If any mode could be suggested which would relieve the case from the difficulties with which it was surrounded, he should feel it his duty to attend to them as all further discussion on the subject ought to be, if possible avoided.

*Mr. Brougham* observed, that he felt as strongly as the noble lord could do the justice of the observations he had made. He was anxious that all further discussion ought to be, if possible, avoided. The noble lord had stated that he did not feel it necessary to enter into any defence of the conduct pursued by ministers; he (*Mr. Brougham*) begged also to state, that he did not feel it at all necessary to enter into a defence of the conduct pursued by her majesty or her legal advisers. Those advisers, as well as her majesty, were satisfied that the case should rest on the candour of the house, from what appeared on the face of the proceedings.

*Mr. Tierney* hoped the honourable member (*Mr. Wilberforce*) would explain the nature of the motion which he intended to make.

*Mr. Wilberforce* said he would rather decline any further explanation at present. He should, in the mean time, be happy to hear any sugges-

tion which should be thrown out on the subject. He was convinced that it was the feeling of the house and the country, that all minor differences should, as far as possible, be overlooked in endeavouring to bring about an amicable arrangement between the illustrious parties concerned. He was sure that, both now, and hereafter, he would obtain the greatest credit who should recommend the waving, as far as possible all personal considerations in order to bring about that which was so much to be desired, a happy termination of this distressing business.

*Mr. Tierney* observed, that the honourable member expressed a wish to hear suggestions from the house, without giving them any opportunity of knowing upon what subject. He once more asked, not for himself but for the information of the house, what the nature of the honourable member's motion was? He could see no difficulty in stating generally what was intended to be done.

*Mr. Wilberforce* said, that his motion in a great measure explained itself; its object undoubtedly was to remove, as far as possible, all obstacles to an amicable arrangement of the differences existing between their majesties.

*Lord A. Hamilton* said, that the honourable member having given notice of a motion which was to take precedence of the very important discussion of to-morrow, it surely was not too much to ask, for the information of the house,

what the object of that motion was. He did not wish to hear the precise words, he only asked the honourable member to state generally what its object was?

*Mr. Scarlett* begged to ask the honourable member, whether his object was to propose the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy? If the honourable member did not answer the question, he should conceive this to be the object of his motion.

*Mr. Wilberforce* said he would rather decline for the present giving any further explanation. He did not wish that his motion should have precedence, though he could not help thanking his noble friend (*Castlereagh*) for the readiness which he had shown to concede it to him. His lordship, by that concession, evinced a desire, in which he was joined by the whole country, to avoid, if possible, all further inquiry into this subject.

In consequence of *Mr. Wilberforce* having given this notice, the public anxiety was wrought to a height unequalled on any former occasion. It discharged in a great degree the negotiators from all further share in the arrangement of the differences, and made the House of Commons the supreme and sole arbiter. It was generally supposed, that in the hands of *Mr. Wilberforce*, strong as that gentleman is in the purity and virtue of his public and private character, and

backed as he was in this case by the great mass of virtuous and independent feeling within and without the house, all difficulties in this momentuous and delicate affair would be smoothened, and the differences ultimately adjusted. It was the universal expectation that his interference, supported by a great mass of parliamentary strength, with which, on this subject, he was in constant communication and concert, would bend resistance, perhaps, on both sides. But the opposing circumstances were greatly underrated, and even mistaken, for it must be admitted, that both parties, that is, the ministers and the queen, were precipitated in the very first stage into an uncompromising assumption of ground, from which they afterwards found it difficult to recede, and the negotiations so far from producing an approximation, or reducing the disputed parts to something unimportant, on the contrary, rather fastened the parties to the ground which they had taken. The negotiation may in some respects be compared to the reconnoitring of an army, in order to discover its weakness and its points of attack; and especially if there were any *masked batteries* in reserve, which could open on either side, from a quarter where it was the least expected. Ministers evidently went into the negotiation under a total misconception as to the form and pretensions of her majesty, and this delusion was not completely dispelled, until the personal correspondence between the queen

and Lord Liverpool at the opening of the negotiation. Lord Liverpool had certainly good grounds to believe, at the moment of Lord Hutchinson's departure, in company with Mr. Brougham, for St. Omer's, that the queen had seen the memorandum of April 15th; and from the acceptance of the memorandum by Mr. Brougham, the queen's confidential adviser, Lord Liverpool had reason to suppose that the substance of the memorandum repeated (though it must be owned rather repulsively) through Lord Hutchinson would have been taken into consideration; but Mr. Brougham had never communicated it to the queen, and upon receiving its substance through Lord Hutchinson, she instantly rejected the proposal, and started for the shores of England.

As early as one o'clock, the crowd began to assemble in the vicinity of the House of Commons, the avenues to which were completely stopped. An unprecedented number of members attended, and after some preliminary business had been gone through, Mr. Wilberforce was called on by the Speaker in the order in which his motion stood on the list for the evening's business; a general silence ensued, and all directed their attention with obvious solicitude to that part of the house where he usually sat; it appeared, however, he was not to be found, and some general symptoms of anxiety and uneasiness began to display themselves. Silence and suspense ensued. Mr. Brougham shortly after

entered, and a very general exclamation of "here he is!" announced the arrival of Mr. Wilberforce; on his entrance he was greeted by loud cheers. He immediately retired to his customary seat, and addressed the Speaker.—He trusted it was not necessary he should assure the house, that he would not have been so backward in being at the post of duty that evening, if he had it in his power to control the cause which had prevented his appearing there earlier, as he was very well aware he would be expected with no ordinary anxiety. In fact, since he last night had the honour of addressing the house, circumstances had occurred which rendered it necessary he should vary in some particulars from the terms of the proposition he had proposed to submit to its adoption that day. He therefore most seriously put it to the house, that under these circumstances, they should concede to him an opportunity of varying, he trusted with effect, the means which he had in contemplation for obviating those results naturally awaiting upon so fatal an inquiry. He earnestly implored the noble lord not to bring on the motion which stood for to-day upon the king's gracious message to the house, and hoped that he would grant him another day to mature that proposition which he devoutly hoped and trusted would lead to an adjustment of interests it was so deeply to be regretted should ever have been separated. Finally, he hoped the house would not suppose he would have suffered him-



self, in a case of such paramount interest and importance, to be diverted from his purpose by any thing of a trifling nature, or that he would thus have trespassed upon the indulgence of the house and the noble lord, without assigning those reasons for his conduct which he trusted would hereafter be considered satisfactory, had it been in his power to have given them publicity, without prejudice to the great and important object he, in common with every well-wisher of his country, had in view.

*Lord Castlereagh.*—I own, Sir, that I deeply regret that any occasion has arisen to prevent the honourable member for Bramber, from motives which he has not thought proper to explain; and which therefore are not before the house, but which it is easy to conceive are good and sufficient reasons, not now to bring forward the motion of which he yesterday evening gave notice, and to induce him to call on me further to postpone that proceeding, which, in point of form, would not have preceded the honourable member's motion on the present evening. I am certainly not desirous of bringing on a discussion which it is so desirable, if possible, to avert; and I feel disposed, therefore, without inquiring further into the honourable member's reasons, to give him the credit to which, both on public and on private grounds, he is entitled, for the gravity of the motives by which he is actuated in the pursuance of the principle recognized by the

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house—namely, that it is most desirable to avoid, if possible, any further proceeding on the subject. Under such circumstances, I should depart from the principles by which the conduct of his majesty's government has hitherto been directed, if I were to press the house to go forward and decide on the mode in which they will inquire into the information which has been laid on their table, until every fair and reasonable expedient has been adopted to prevent the necessity for that step. While, however, I readily accede to the honourable member's request, I beg to submit to his consideration the great public evil which arises from the existing uncertainty and hesitation on this question, and the expediency of avoiding every delay, not absolutely necessary, that may be calculated to continue that agitation into which the public mind has been thrown, and which must exist until the wisdom of Parliament shall determine on the course which, on a view of all the circumstances of the case, it may appear most expedient to adopt. I therefore submit to the honourable member's requisition; but at the same time I conjure and entreat him not to allow any consideration whatever to induce him to delay the proposition which he has to make to the house beyond to-morrow; for I am sure that the evils of further delay are incalculable. I am sure that, although it is most desirable that, if possible, the house should be spared the delicate and difficult duty of entering into the inquiry in

question, and although the house has so expressed its wishes, a delay beyond to-morrow would have a tendency, under any circumstances, to defeat the object which all parties have so anxiously in view.

*Mr. Wilberforce.*—I hope the noble lord and the house will give me credit for not having proposed the postponement of this proceeding on light grounds. I cannot at present say any thing further on the subject; but I will to-morrow explain to the house my reasons.

*Lord Castlereagh.*—I by no means wish to press the honourable gentleman for an immediate explanation of his motives, which, I am persuaded, are of the soundest and most sufficient nature.

*Lord A. Hamilton.*—Sir, I wish to ask the honourable member for Bramber, whether or not he has any objection to state to the house what is the nature of the motion which it is his intention to bring forward to-morrow? I can assure honourable gentlemen that I do not ask this question out of idle curiosity, but because I wish to know the nature of the honourable gentleman's motion, with a view to shape my own course accordingly, as the answer to my question may induce me to determine; if I do not approve of the honourable gentleman's motion, either to propose an amendment to it, or to submit a distinct motion to the house.

*Mr. Wilberforce.*—My high respect for the noble lord's character must always induce me to afford

him every gratification compatible with my duty. I feel it to be inexpedient to say more on the subject of my motion publicly, but I shall have no objection whatever to converse with the noble lord in private upon it. What passed in the house yesterday evening, and its results, have confirmed me in the determination to refrain from entering into any previous explanation of the precise nature of my intended motion.

*Mr. Tierney.*—I really feel great difficulty, Sir, in agreeing to this postponement. It is, in every point of view, most desirable that this business should be terminated as soon as possible. We are placed in a situation that appears to me to be unparalleled. To a message which his majesty was graciously pleased to send down to this house, we answered by an Address, intimating that we would immediately enter into the consideration of the matters to which that message referred. Accordingly, we did enter on that consideration; but in consequence of the suggestion of a number of honourable members, the discussion was adjourned for several days, in order to give an opportunity for ascertaining whether it might not be practicable to bring the affair to a conclusion without further interference. The negotiations on the subject lasted for near a fortnight; and the noble lord then came down, declared that they had failed, laid on the table of the house papers explanatory of their nature, and gave notice that on this evening he would propose to resume the sus-

peended consideration of his majesty's message. Now, however, another—an individual member—took up the subject, and a fresh adjournment was proposed, in order that he might see what he could do. My noble friend near me, thinks it very likely that he may feel it necessary to make a motion on the subject. Other honourable members may also think it necessary to make motion. In the mean while the consideration of his majesty's message sleeps : and the delay is certainly neither respectful to the crown, nor creditable to this house. I think it fair, therefore, Sir, to give notice that, be the cause of the delay what it may, or let it originate in what quarter it may, it will to-morrow take the sense of the house on the propriety of any further adjournment, if such should be proposed.

*Lord A. Hamilton.*—I also, Sir, beg leave to give notice, that I will to-morrow move for the production of the order of council, under which her majesty's name was erased from the Liturgy.

*Mr. Brougham.*—Sir, I rise to know if I rightly understand the honourable gentleman who has just now postponed the motion of which he yesterday evening gave notice, and to state why, if I do rightly understand him, I think that the delay which he requires, of a single day, ought to be allowed, notwithstanding the great public inconvenience and evil which, in common with my noble and right honourable friend, I feel must result from any postponement of the question under

our consideration. If I rightly understand the honourable member, he considers either the adoption of his intended motion, or of any proposition which may arise out of it, the only alternative of a proceeding to an inquiry on the part of this house.—If this is really the honourable member's impression, I really think that the delay of a single day becomes of less importance, since, according to the honourable member, if his motion should not be acquiesced in by the house, the inquiry must then be commenced. Feeling, therefore, as strongly as any man the importance of not unnecessarily delaying the consideration of this question for a single hour, I nevertheless cannot but accede to the honourable member's proposition. I trust, however, that no circumstance whatever will prevent the honourable member from proceeding to-morrow; for I can assure the house, that as much anxiety is felt to avoid delay on the part of her majesty and her advisers, as can be felt in any other quarter whatever.

*Mr. Scarlett.*—If I correctly understand my honourable and learned friend, he thoroughly agrees with the honourable member for Bramber, that the success of that honourable member's motion is only one branch of an alternative, the other branch of which is the inquiry originally proposed by the noble lord opposite. Sir, I cannot conceive that such is the state of the case. In my humble judgment, whatever may

be the fate of the honourable member's motion, should it be rejected by the house, I shall still think it the sort of inquiry proposed by his majesty's ministers, and which is the only measure they have called upon us to agree to,—one which it is impossible that, consistently with its duty, the house can adopt. In my opinion, therefore, it by no means follows, as a necessary consequence of the rejection of the honourable member for Bramber's motion, that we must acquiesce in the proposition of the noble lord.

*Mr. Brougham.*—As my honourable and learned friend had no opportunity, or did not avail himself of any opportunity of expressing his opinion in that which would, perhaps, have been its right place, he has been induced to state it to the house now, and in a manner somewhat hasty; it becomes necessary for me to set myself right with my honourable and learned friend, and with the house. Does it follow, Sir, from what I said when I last addressed you, that I think what I have already characterised as an unconstitutional proceeding, must be the necessary consequence of the rejection of a motion, which, for ought I know, I may feel it my duty to oppose? By no means. What I stated was,—not that I considered it as the alternative; but that as the honourable gentleman seemed to consider it as the alternative, and as he would therefore press his motion to-morrow, the delay of a single day did not appear to me to be inadvisable.

Here the conversation was dropped; and on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the order of the day for the resuming the adjourned debate on the king's message was discharged, and a new order made for the following day.

This postponement of Mr. Wilberforce's motion, arose from a letter addressed to him by her majesty, expressive of her surprise at the proposition which Mr. Wilberforce was to call on the house to make to her; namely, that she should withdraw herself from the prayers of the people, or in other words, that she should consent to the omission of her name in the Liturgy. The abandonment of that object by the queen, would certainly have removed one great obstacle in the way of negotiation between the queen and the ministers; but to what did that abandonment tend?—to the actual compromise of her character, by renouncing an unquestionable right. And, therefore, Mr. Wilberforce found himself obliged to change his ground, and to propose those resolutions declaratory of the sense of the house, that by conceding the point of the Liturgy to her opponents, she did not compromise her character nor her honour.

Accordingly on Thursday the 22d, Mr. Wilberforce was called upon in the House of Commons, to submit his promised motion to the house.

*Mr. Wilberforce* began by stating, that notwith-



standing the anxious desire he felt to bring this subject before the house, so painful and oppressive a task did he feel it to be, that were it not for the imperious sense of duty by which he was urged to proceed, he should have shrunk from the attempt. If something were not done to prevent that fatal inquiry, he (Mr. Wilberforce) was impressed with the idea that the greatest of all evils, one which he dared not to contemplate, would accrue to the country. He ought to take this opportunity of explaining to the house that the delay which had occurred in bringing forward this motion, was owing to his having received a communication from her majesty, which had required his utmost consideration, and required that he should change the plan of his proceedings. He should say nothing more on this point further than that he had received a second communication explanatory of the first. He dare not say that these documents in themselves, held out any hopes that her majesty would acquiesce in the views he entertained. Having since had an opportunity of stating to her majesty the motives by which he was actuated, he found that her majesty had no other knowledge of the nature of his intended motion, than what had been collected from general report. The measure which he had afterwards come to the conclusion of adopting was, that of moving, that a resolution be passed, the object of which was, earnestly to express a hope that her majesty, now that the

material differences seemed to be so nearly done away, might be prevailed upon, under all circumstances, to wave the only remaining differences on grounds which he should state when he came to the motion itself. It would be remembered, that the ultimate difference between the king's servants and the law officers of the queen related to two points, viz. the causing her majesty to be acknowledged publicly as Queen of England in foreign courts—and the restoration of her majesty's name in the Liturgy. He wished it to be understood, that it was in one part of these papers virtually acknowledged, that the objection to giving her majesty a full introduction to one of the foreign courts abroad, although there were almost insuperable objections to it, could nevertheless be got over. Here the honourable gentleman read that passage in the correspondence, where it was suggested, that, in the foreign country in which her majesty might fix her future residence, she should be introduced at the court of that country by the British ambassador residing there. This was at first objected to, on the ground that the British government had no right to prescribe to any foreign prince the course which he should choose to pursue under such circumstances; and the difficulty was not got rid of. The next point required, was the restoration of the queen's name to the Liturgy. For his own part, after having given the fullest consideration to this point, he did not ascribe so

much importance to it as he had at first been inclined to do. It did not strike him as applying to any religious view of the subject. According to the mode of conducting the worship of the Church in this country, when men met to do honour to Him, to whom all honour was due, all distinctions of persons were done away. Our system of worship diffused an universal feeling of unity with regard to others, and put all descriptions of people on one common level. This was the sentiment of many persons with whom he had talked on the subject; and must it not be evident to every body, that, when prayers were offered up for the king and all the royal family, the queen, as one of that royal family, was prayed for? Had any gentleman, he would ask, ever named of the royal family without thinking of the queen? It certainly was usual sometimes to express by name particular individuals of the royal family in prayers of the Church; it was usual to name, among others, the heir apparent to the crown; but in the present Church Service this was not adhered to; for the name of the Duke of York, who stood next to the crown, was not mentioned. His meaning, and he wished peculiarly to impress it on the house, was, that during this question in a religious point of view the queen was not excluded by the omission of her name, from the prayers of the congregation. The point was not specified as a point that was considered or acted upon, until it

came to be debated in the conferences lately held respecting her majesty. Therefore his mind was impressed with a full persuasion, that this point respecting the Liturgy had not been considered as a religious question, nor as a thing of such great importance as was ascribed to it. Her majesty's legal advisers asked whether some mode might not be adopted to serve as an equivalent for the omission of her name in the Liturgy; and spoke of her official introduction at foreign courts, which they were inclined to consider as a good equivalent. This also went clearly to show, that the question was not considered as a religious one. The subject was mentioned a second time, with a view that something might be devised as an equivalent. It was, therefore, a great relief to his mind, that the question had not been pressed by her majesty's advisers on any religious principle. He was ready to grant that it was not altogether respectful to her majesty to omit her name; but he thought that such an amicable adjustment might be made as would be consistent with her majesty's honour, even if the omission still continued. His utmost desire was, to avoid that fatal green bag. (*Here there was considerable laughter in the house.*) This was a subject of too grave and serious a nature for merriment. He was sure they must all feel as he did on this melancholy subject; and no one should misconstrue the phrase he had used, for he declared, that while there was a smile upon his lip, there

was a pang at his heart. There was one part of the negotiation which had given him the greatest satisfaction. When it was required by her majesty's legal advisers that she should receive a recognition of her rights; what greater recognition, he asked, could she have than assurances from Parliament that her majesty was not shrinking from any inquiry; but was in the opinion of Parliament ready to meet every thing that might be laid to her charge. He would put it then to honourable gentlemen, who were the legal advisers of her majesty, whether this was not the very sort of equivalent which they were in search of, and whether it would not answer every purpose that might be desired. With regard to the Liturgy, he would again repeat, that the restoration of her majesty's name to it, was not considered as a matter of any importance. The omission of the name could not be supposed to have any effect upon her majesty abroad; because our liturgy was as little known in foreign countries on the Continent of Europe, as it was in China or Japan. He should now come to what he had to propose. The chief point to which he should draw the consideration of the house was, whether the queen would not go forth without any stigma on her character, after she had yielded to the wishes and authority of Parliament? Whether, after having done so, and receiving the recognition of Parliament, all imputation against her would not be removed? The dignity of

monarchy would always be the greater in proportion as they wished to conform to the wishes and the feelings of Parliament. And, he was sure that the queen had enough of English feeling about her to induce her to act in this way. He begged then that he might be allowed to express his anxious hope that the house would well weigh this question, and take such a course of proceeding as might lead to an amicable adjustment of all the unhappy differences which now prevailed among the royal personages; and, if the recommendation of the house should be attended to, oh! what a benefit would accrue to the nation.

He concluded by moving :

“ Resolved, That this house has learned with unfeigned and deep regret, that the late endeavours to frame an arrangement which might avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses of Parliament, have not led to that amicable adjustment of the existing differences in the royal family, which was anxiously desired by Parliament and the nation.

“ That this house, fully sensible of the objections which the queen might justly feel to taking upon herself the relinquishment of any points in which she might have conceived her own dignity and honour to be involved, yet feeling the inestimable importance of an amicable and final adjustment of the present unhappy differences, cannot forbear declaring its opinion, that when such large advances had been made towards that object, her majesty, by yielding to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and forbearing to press further the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion is yet remaining, would

by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her majesty has been graciously pleased to express, to submit her own wishes to the authority of Parliament; thereby entitling herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the House of Commons, and sparing this house the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire."

*Mr. Stuart Wortley* thought there was no other alternative than the motion of his honourable friend, or proceeding to an inquiry. If they adopted the latter course, they must do so with all its attendant evils before their eyes; they would throw the country for months into a state of agitation and alarm, and they would have their houses and their families inundated with publications which every man must wish to avoid. It appeared to him that her majesty might, without any derogation from her rank and honour, accede to the terms now proposed. She might accede to them, to use the words of the negotiation, without her majesty's admitting or the king's retracting any thing. In all the conferences which he and his honourable friend (*Mr. Wilberforce*) had on the subject, they had endeavoured so to shape the motion that it should be kept clear of all party views.

*Mr. Brougham* said, he should endeavour to express himself on this important question with

candour, with a sincere respect for his honourable friend, and in concurrence with what he conceived to be the feelings of the country. He would now call the attention of the house to the result of the late negotiations, and the unfortunate failure that had taken place. But although they had failed, he would declare it as his opinion, that in the course of these negotiations not a little had been gained for her majesty. For the only basis on which the queen would consent to treat, was, that of being fully acknowledged in her high rank and title, and this basis, although at first refused, was now fully acknowledged. The only point in which she was always inflexible—that which admitted of no alternative, and for which she looked up to no equivalent, was an unqualified recognition of her rights and privileges as Queen of England; and that recognition was granted before ever the conferences were opened. He should notice another material point which had been gained by her majesty. Without attempting to impute blame to any body, he must say, that the queen, on her arrival lately in this country, was not treated in any way with that respect which was due to her exalted rank. But since the commencement of the negotiations, a very different treatment was proposed to be observed towards her; for, instead of being allowed to travel in a common packet, all the pomp, pride, and circumstance, which usually attended the voyages of the highest royal per-



sonages, were now offered to her, in case of her departing from the country. Some persons might say that he overrated those advantages; but these little things were of considerable moment; indeed, they were of as much value, as the omission of them would be a mark of degradation. In this instance, therefore, a material point had been gained. There was another circumstance, however, where no small advantage was gained. If the queen was not to be recognised at foreign courts, something very nearly approaching to such recognition was conceded to her. In whatever country she should reside on the Continent, she was to be announced to the court of that country by the representative of the sovereign, as queen of England, and there to be treated as such. And last of all, there was a further proceeding, which he did not consider as immaterial; that was the consent given, that addresses should be presented to the king and queen by both houses of Parliament; and that these addresses should be presented to them together. Now, would any gentleman recollect that four months ago there was no possibility of getting the gentlemen opposite to mention the name of the Queen. She was then called an "Illustrious Personage"—"a Person of high Consideration"—"a Great Lady"—"a Lady of Great Distinction"—"a Lady of high Character, whose interests were deeply connected with this or that question," with fifty other studied periphrases, for the purpose of

avoiding that word now so ready in all mouths—  
“The Queen.” Nothing was now heard of but—  
“The Queen,”—“Her Majesty’s Rank,”—“Her  
Majesty’s Dignity,”—“Her Majesty’s Honour,”—  
“Her Majesty’s Law Advisers,”—“Her Majesty’s  
Rights,” and so on. Now her Majesty was to have  
yachts for the channel, frigates and ships of war  
for the Mediterranean, or to go to and fro as she  
pleased; and last of all came the address of his  
honourable friend, in which her majesty was, ad-  
mitted to possess all the rights and privileges of  
queen. This address was to be carried to the feet  
of her majesty’s throne, thanking her in the name  
of Parliament for her most gracious condescen-  
sion. However, the queen’s advisers might have  
resolved to proceed upon the inquiry, and to open  
the green bag, he would ask, whether it behoved  
Parliament to sanction the queen’s resistance,  
until a step further was granted. It had been  
said, [that the question of the Liturgy was not so  
much a *sine qua non*, as a thing that ought not to  
be contended for. He could at once supersede  
the necessity of this argument. The Liturgy cer-  
tainly was not so far a *sine qua non* as not to admit  
of an equivalent. Her majesty required such a  
basis, as should support her honour and her dig-  
nity. When the question of residence came to  
be discussed, in the late conferences, it was con-  
sidered that, from motives of convenience to the  
queen herself, and from the inconvenience which  
would arise if two separate courts were held in

this country, it might be more agreeable to her majesty's wishes, and more conducive to her personal comforts to go abroad. The question then was, whether such departure from the country would not be liable to great misconstruction, while charges were still hanging over her majesty, without being rebutted; and whether something was not to be done, in order to prevent such misconstruction of her majesty's conduct. Her legal advisers, therefore, in order to settle this matter first, required that her name should be restored to the Liturgy. Having assisted at the negotiations, he thought it necessary to state this fact. From what he was in the habit of noticing in various places—from what he could collect to be the sense of that house, and from the overwhelming majority which was known to exist in favour of the queen among the people out of doors, he was sure that the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy would render the success of a negotiation certain, without the possibility of any dishonour to her majesty. He solemnly assured the house, that this very thing would produce all the effect that could be wished for, and he was sure that it was the only remaining obstacle towards an accommodation. By placing the name in the Liturgy, every obstacle would be surmounted. This was a fact which he had no more hesitation in asserting, than that he was now standing on the floor of that house. Without meaning to throw any blame against

ministers to whom he had been so often opposed in that house, he must, in common with numbers of others, express his deep regret at the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy; but by how much the more the act ought not to have been done, by so much the more ease it might now be undone. It might now be with every kind of propriety undone, on the ground that the doing it was not only impolitic, but illegal. There was no law in the country which gave a power to the king to alter the Liturgy by an order in council. The law said, that in all prayers relating to the royal family, the names should be changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion. Nothing more was done than this: than at the demise of one sovereign, the name of another was inserted; and instead of Queen Charlotte, the words Queen Caroline ought now to stand in the Liturgy. This he conceived to be sufficient for Parliament, to enable it to get out of the great difficulty in which it was now placed. It was no answer to his argument to say, that the queen was prayed for along with the other members of the royal family. Whether the exclusion of the name did or did not exclude her majesty from the prayers of the church, was not the question now to be considered; for it did not follow that the king ought to have ordered that exclusion to take place. The real question was, whether the act was not unlawful and unconstitutional. In matters of this kind, every thing was a degradation

which was contrary to old established usage. Former Queens of England had always been prayed for by name, and to cease thus to pray for a queen, could only tend to degrade her in the eyes of the world. The allusion that had been made to the Queen of George I., was only an offensive aggravation of the wrong that had been done in the present instance. His honourable friend had said that the duke was not prayed for by name; but it should be understood that the Duke of York was only heir presumptive to the crown; and that, as circumstances might occur by which he would cease to be heir presumptive, it would be an awkward thing to pray for him by name, and afterwards take his name out of the Liturgy. But if his royal highness was heir apparent, the case would be quite different. There was no instance, however, of the wife of the sovereign having been struck out of the Liturgy. The Queen Consort of this kingdom was invested with very high and peculiar prerogatives; she enjoyed many privileges above all other women; and what was most important for the house to consider, she ought to be viewed as the stock which the people of the country were to look up to for the continuance of the royal line, and for the preservation of the line of succession to the throne. He was not alluding to the present queen; he was speaking of the Queen of England generally, and if by any sort of degradation a suspicion were to fall upon a Queen of England, the greatest evils might fall on the na-

tion, in case of a disputed successor to the throne. Every possible protection should, therefore, be afforded to the queen ; and every care should be taken that the succession should not be tainted even by the suspicion of a spurious offspring. Yet, in opposition to those sound constitutional principles, see what the ministers had done. The king and queen were living separate ; it was possible they might come together again ; no matter whether the queen was fifty-two or twenty-two years of age. While thus separated, an order in council was issued for degrading her, and an imputation thrown on her character, which might bring into dispute the succession to the throne. The same thing might be done with any other queen ; and every body must see how contrary it was to the fundamental principles, and the safety of our constitution. As ministers, then, were the authors of this act, he called upon them to undo it. Let the concession that was now required come from them : it would be no more than making an atonement for their error. The queen could not accede to any thing until this concession was first made ; for if she did, she was degraded every Sunday, in every church in England. He cared not whether foreign countries knew this omission in our Liturgy or not ; it was sufficient that the injury was known all over this kingdom. His proposition was, to carry an address to the foot of the throne, for the restoration of the queen's name in the Liturgy. Why should ministers be afraid to carry this ad-

dress? Let them not fear that any such act of justice would lead to their discountenance by the king; for he was too noble to feel any resentment towards them for what they should do on such an occasion; and if they should be displaced for such an act, let them not be afraid that it would cause the loss of their places; for after such a generous act, he wished to see the men who would be so rash or presumptuous as to take the places from which they were removed, for an honest and conscientious discharge of their duty. What he had said was this, and he called upon any man in the house to controvert it—that if complying with the wishes of the House of Commons, any set of ministers were to lose their places, he should like to see the man that would accept power, after having refused to comply with these wishes. He would fain hope that the house had got to the close of those preliminary discussions; and that any further agitation of it should take place only with a view to a conclusive adjustment. He fervently prayed that this was the last time that any preliminary business would be discussed. He entreated the house to consider how the matter stood at that crisis. The house was going on from day to day revolving this most unpleasant subject, and nothing final was doing. We are going on from day to day; but something else is going on elsewhere. Much irritation—great and serious discontent—factions intermeddling—much misrepresentation of facts to factions pur-

poses—all this, I will not say has happened, but by every day's delay is rendered more probable and imminent. I express my hope, therefore, that these discussions will terminate from the sincerest conviction of the public interest, as well from my private feelings, to which it is so painful day after day to be compelled to differ from so many of those persons whom I respect.

*Lord Castlereagh* declared, that there never was any reluctance on the part of ministers to recognize the Queen of England under all those circumstances, which by right belonged to her. They had at once acknowledged her as *de jure* Queen of England, and he begged to recall to the attention of the house, that when the arrangements for the royal family came under discussion at a former time, he (*Lord Castlereagh*) had stated to the house that he should feel it his duty to propose some provision for the late Princess of Wales, then become Queen of England—so that her capacity as queen was never once disputed. Again, when the propositions which ministers had deemed it their duty to have proffered to her were submitted to her, they were submitted to her as Queen of England, calling upon her for a surrender, not of her legal capacity of queen, but of those circumstances belonging to her elevated situation, which it had been thought advisable she should lay down. It could not be therefore imputed, with any justice to ministers, that they delayed to acknowledge the alteration



her majesty's circumstances. If the honour-  
 member felt that the insertion of her majesty's  
 name was of such importance as he seemed  
 desirous of making the house believe—then,  
 indeed, he must have been the most supine, or  
 the most feeble of advisers, if he suffered the  
 sol n of the council, by virtue of which the  
 exclu had taken place, to sleep upon their  
 for forty-eight hours, without one effort to  
 in e the privileges or the rights of her  
 y, which this omission might be supposed  
 violate. Even when the exclusion had been  
 a former occasion, brought under the attention  
 e house, what was the language of the  
 ned gentleman? Why he (Mr. Brougham):  
 red in his place in Parliament, that the  
 complaint of the omission of her majesty's name,  
 as too insignificant for a thought; that it was  
 trifle light as air; and that the only question  
 hich the house ought to consider as worthy of  
 eir serious notice was, what was the legal  
 character of her majesty? The honourable and  
 learned member manifested uneasiness, even that  
 t should be thought necessary to urge the in-  
 ertion of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, for  
 it she was *de jure* queen, and the insertion or  
 omission of her name in the Prayer Book, was a  
 utter wholly irrelevant to her right to be treated  
 queen. Would the honourable member attempt  
 leny this? Would he attempt to say, that he  
 a different opinion from that which he had

expressed ? If her majesty's confidential servants thought the insertion in the Liturgy of so much moment, why did they permit the ministers of the crown to enter upon the negotiation under a delusion ? He had reason to complain that the honourable and learned member opposite (Mr. Brougham) had acted upon what he should call a system of tergiversation upon this question ; in having first assigned certain points as the basis of accommodation, and then brought others forward without any previous intimation whatever. From such a system no satisfactory adjustment could possibly be anticipated. His majesty's ministers had never refused any thing which they were not still prepared to refuse ; nor had he at any time given any council to the crown which he should be disposed to retract. (The noble lord sat down amidst loud and continued cheers.)

*Lord Archibald Hamilton* did not see that any good could result from the proposition now before the house. The extent to which that proposition went, was this, that the party injured should be still further injured : and that the ministers, by whom the injury was done, should claim of her majesty a paramount acquiescence, in order to entitle her to partial relief. He had intended before to offer a proposition to the house upon this question, but was restrained by the honourable gentleman on the Treasury bench, who talked of delicacy, and urged the propriety

of abstaining from public disclosures. But to him it certainly appeared that her majesty would gain infinitely more from any public exposition of facts, than she could by this resolution. There was one point in the speech of his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) which deserved particular attention. It was this—that if the house should give an opinion that the queen ought to be restored to the full possession of her rights, it would be a disrespect, not to his majesty, but to his ministers, who had advised their being withheld. The king, acting under their special advice, could not be responsible in the affair. They had not, it was true, advised his majesty to strike the queen's name out of the Liturgy, but they had advised its being omitted, which amounted, in effect, to the same thing, so far as her dignity was concerned. But the noble lord had said, that under the term royal family, her majesty was regularly prayed for; so was his majesty under the same designation. But there was still an express mention of his name in the Liturgy, and if it should be an injustice to omit it with respect to him, he saw no reason why it would not be equally so, as the case applied to the queen. The noble lord then moved an amendment, the purport of which was, that the house felt sensible of the pain which the relinquishment of any of her rights must occasion to her majesty; and felt convinced, that the insertion of her name in the Liturgy would be the

means of preventing the necessity of an investigation which, however it might terminate, must be as distressing to her majesty's feelings as it would be derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and the honour of the nation.

*Mr. Denman* said, that no tergiversation, as the noble lord would represent, ever took place on the part of her majesty's advisers with regard to the question now under consideration. He could recall circumstances to the mind of the noble lord which must convince him of the truth of this assertion, and make him retract the statements he had made. That both parties had met on the basis that her majesty was to reside abroad, he was not disposed to deny; yet he had said, in the first instance, when this proposition was made, that he should not feel satisfied if her majesty was not put in complete possession of her rights as queen, and treated with that respect in foreign states to which from her high rank she was entitled. Another mode of adjustment was then proposed, and perhaps her majesty's advisers had gone too far in meeting the views of those with whom they had to treat; but certainly they had never deviated in the least from the fixed principle they had laid down when agreeing to her majesty's residence abroad. It was true, that the question of the Liturgy had not been mentioned, nor did he think it necessary, because he believed that the express mention of her majesty's name was absolutely comprehended in her

rights as Queen of England. This argument he should always maintain, and should be ready to debate the question over and over again, upon the grounds that her majesty's name must necessarily be restored to the Liturgy, by her rights and privileges as queen being recognised. If the king had his place in the Liturgy, it was no less a principle of right that the queen should have her's likewise. As to the case of the queen of George I. to which allusions had been made, it was not at all in point. She had been guilty of certain practices in Hanover, which compromised her character, and was never considered as Queen of England. On the continent she lived under the designation of Princess of Halle, and though the Prince of Wales had afterwards called her to to this country for the purpose of embarrassing the government of his father to which he happened to be opposed, still she was never recognised in any other character than as Electress of Hanover. With respect to the instances of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland, whose names had been erased from the Liturgy, they were equally inapplicable; and the rule as it referred to them, would have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Exclusions of this description reflected but little credit on the royal family; and if there was any case in which there ought to be a spirit of conciliation and forbearance, it was when differences existed about praying to the Great Father of

Mercy, to whom all ought to make their appeal; and whose forgiveness some who were now present might feel themselves called upon to implore, for the injuries done to the illustrious individual whose cause he so humbly advocated. The noble lord, however, would have it, that her majesty was of course prayed for in the prayer for the royal family. Admitted; what then? As well might the noble lord have said, that her majesty's name was included in the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men. This was quite as good an answer as he could make to the singular proposition of the noble lord. The noble lord had said, that the omission of her majesty's name, was a measure decided upon by the king himself in his closet. Who was the king in his closet? He knew of no king in his closet existing in this country. During her majesty's residence in Italy, no notification of the death of the late king was made to her majesty; yet though no information of events in England was given to the queen, it was not for want of a facility of access to the country where she then resided, as was proved by the fact of the *Milan Committee* having been then sitting, and in regular communication with the cabinet at home. That committee made its report, and was it not, he would ask, an eternal stigma on the laws and administration of the country, if, upon such report her majesty had been held guilty, without affording her the opportunity of vindicating her honour. If there

were not good and substantial grounds for the proceeding adopted, it was one of the most flagrant violations of justice and daring assaults on freedom, that any minister ever yet had the hardihood to recommend to an arbitrary government. What was it that was done in this case? Her majesty had been prejudged—she had not been confronted with the witnesses against her. Her guilt was taken as certain, and she was thus left without the power of openly proving her innocence. But what right was there to presume upon her criminality in the smallest degree, no charge being made against her? Why was the sword to be held suspended over the head of the queen? The reason was—she had come to England—this was her whole crime. Yes, the grand accusation against her was, that she had come to this country to meet her enemies face to face, and dare them to impeach her. The noble lord opposite had said, that ministers could not now propose to the king a retraction of steps; or, in other words, that if their views were not carried into effect they must lose their places. He hoped this assertion had not been in consequence of any previous communication with any party, for then the question would be, not whether the queen was guilty or not, but whether ministers were to lose their places. It was hardly fair or honourable to mix up with the consideration of guilt in a woman these political speculations. If there was an imputation of guilt, her

majesty was ready to meet the charge ; she had given proofs of it by her coming to this country. Indeed after what had passed at St. Omer's, she had hardly any option but to come here. There was no other course left her, charged as she was, and the question of whether she had a yacht, or a palace, was of minor importance compared with that. However, it could not be concealed that her majesty must have contrasted her reception in 1820, from that she had met with in 1795, when she first came to this country. He wished much, things had not led her majesty to draw this melancholy contrast, and he applauded the feelings of the people, who shewed so much enthusiasm towards a fellow woman. Why should it be charged upon her, that she came hither in a hired packet, or took up her lodging at a private house ; it was no fault of her's, it was a consequence of the system of measures adopted by ministers towards that high personage. Why lay to her charge that she overlooked the punctilio of form due to her station ? All this she was content to risk ; she only recollected that she was in the nature of one accused ? Having endeavoured to point out the injustice to which her majesty was exposed, he would conclude by leaving her case with confidence in the hands of the members of that house, convinced, that as gentlemen, and men of honour, they would feel the full force of such an appeal.

*Sir Francis Burdett* said he should endeavour to



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look at the question with an unprejudiced mind, and abstain from saying a word that could be construed into the expression of want of respect to either party. The honourable mover of the address had, in his opinion, given a very erroneous view of the subject. The house were not in a dilemma. There was no possibility to their consenting that the green bag should be opened, consenting, as they did, the interest of the royal family and the public. As to the question regarding the insertion of the queen's name in the Liturgy, whether that was a matter of right or not, was of no importance. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had at one time said, that no insult was intended by the omission; and soon after admitted that there was, by declaring that the measure was adopted in consequence of the charges contained against her in the green bag, which were upon the vilest authority. The noble lord had advised the omission upon those grounds, and then was surprised that her majesty had objected to it. After having used all the circumlocution of which he and his colleagues were masters, to avoid calling her majesty the queen, ministers wondered at her demanding that point of honour, which it would be better for her to yield every thing than for a moment think of giving up. Now he who held a threat in one hand, and a bribe in the other—what was to be thought of him? Her majesty knew nothing of the process which was intended to be instituted against her; but a threat

was held out against her, which she naturally considered a threat against her life. It was, however, conditional. She rejected the condition with contempt. She refused the money which ministers were prodigal enough to offer, and came boldly forward to meet the charge. This was indeed a proof of as great magnanimity as that which had distinguished the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and furnished most powerful presumption of innocence, for she appeared in England under an imputation sufficient to break any spirit. The noble lord denied that a bribe had been offered. This was something like one of the characters in a play—*Foigard*, he believed—who was asked by a girl, whether taking money is not bribe, and said, “If you take money first, it is a bribe; but if you take it afterwards, it is only a remuneration.” Ministers acted on this principle, but her majesty rejected their remuneration. Then they came down with their green bag. Now, if they had made up their minds to pursue the threatened course—if they had advised the king to pursue it, there could be no means of retracting it—there was no possibility of an alternative: for, if there was the possibility of an alternative, there could be no justification. When he considered the misfortunes of this high-minded and unhappy lady, placed as she was in a situation which afforded her no defence such as other women were able to command, without control of any kind, and broken from almost all connection

MEMOIRS OF CAROLINE,

h her family, he could not hesitate to declare, at if she had misconducted herself in the manner attributed to her, there did not exist a person h the feelings of a man who would not shed s of pity, instead of pursuing her with an arm engeance under the mask of friendship. The g he believed to be incapable of conduct so e calculated to keep up the dignity of the wn. For his majesty there was a variety of s. Who could tell what the conduct of pick-thanks and miscreants might have who had collected them from sources as as themselves. They might have misled his ment, and irritated his passions. For his sty there was great excuse; but what apo- was there for ministers? There was nothing d their judgment; and, if they saw that persons were whispering in the royal ear, minds were calm, and they had the addi- l obligation of an oath to speak the truth to king. If they yielded to his passions, they e the worst of traitors. If ministers had ised his majesty to send down an accusation he green bag, they should have considered it all its parts. It was nothing to them whether was abroad or not. They were bound to sue one steady, inflexible course. No, they d, she might riot abroad as much as she ased, and they would supply her with the uns of doing so. It was only when she should e home that the green bag was to make its

appearance. The good sense of the house agreed with him that that bag should never be opened. The moment ministers said the thing was negotiable, there was an end to all inquiry. The honourable mover of the address had said, (but whether that member was in the secret of ministers or not, he could not tell)—that the green bag contained such abominable disclosures of filth as must stifle all morality. It was a strange way of keeping up the dignity of the crown, to place all those things before the public eye! In fact, nothing could be a more hostile course, even supposing the contents to be true. But he believed the green bag to be as false as it was filthy. At all events, whether the imputations were true or false, the house could not go into the question, for no public interests were concerned; and, if they were, ministers had shown themselves willing enough to compromise them. He had a right to say they were false. This Pandora's box, without hope at the bottom, whether it contained truth or not, should never be opened. An honest councillor would advise his majesty not to proceed, whatever might have been his impression. But all this was done for no other purpose but that of driving the queen out of the kingdom. Her reply was, that she was determined to be the champion of her own honour, and they might, if they pleased, put their money in their pockets. They were ready to grant her majesty any thing, would she but consent to remove from them the embarrass-

## MOIRS OF CAROLINE,

it of her presence ; but she had come to this  
gdom amidst the acclamations of the people,  
out of it she never would go under the hoot-  
of her former admirers. It would be better  
her to lose twenty lives. Ministers, he be-  
d, had not advised in this unfortunate case.  
came down most reluctantly, but they had  
ive. An honest minister would, if he  
repugnance to any act which his master  
o perform, say candidly, I cannot do it,  
ot run so dangerous a career as that in  
others were engaged. Ministers who  
d their courage to such a course, should  
care that their heads did not follow. The  
had acted with great judgment ; she stood  
d of no advice, and she pursued the best.  
majesty was fit to be addressed by that  
e, she certainly was not fit to be the subject  
he contents of a green bag ; and, it was  
aordinary to him how a minister could come  
ward with a green bag in one hand, and an  
ess in the other. But the worthy mover had  
said where the resolution was to go. It was  
known what was to be done with it. Whether  
not, the Speaker would be directed to go up  
his majesty's ministers to the queen with it.  
all events, the address was in good language  
respectful, and so far evidence against her  
esty being bad. But suppose the queen  
sed the house—or suppose she refused to  
er if she did receive them. In fact, her

majesty could not return an answer. The Government might take her fortune if they pleased, but she could not part with her honour, even though the plan of ministers might be to get an opportunity of sneaking off with their green bag. He protested against any inquiry in the name of the king, the royal family, the queen, and the country. The case could not be proceeded in if the evidence were clear of all reproach. Ministers were compounding high treason, or what was as bad in effect. Was it not conduct like that of the wretch who extorted money by threats of some atrocious charge? Even if the queen had shrunk from the charge, it would have been far from evidence of guilt. He had known men of excellent characters who had given money to escape imputation, and why might not a female have shrunk from so tremendous a charge as that with which the queen had been so basely threatened? The House of Commons could not look at those two parties engaged in a combat nearly mortal, or patiently endure a contest which must be one of destruction? If his majesty's ministers had only treated the queen with common decency—if they had not exposed her to all the insults of understrapping diplomacy, all this would not have happened. What good sense, what policy was there in irritating her majesty—in provoking her to come over to this country, in which her very breath seemed to Government to be pestilential? If she had not been insulted by his

majesty's ministers, she would not have troubled them. Even if all that had been said of her majesty was true, why send spies and pickthanks to take it up, for the purpose of polluting England with it? Why not allow it to remain where it was? There was neither common sense nor common honesty in the proceeding. In the first place, ministers basely complied with wishes which they ought to have contradicted.—Anxious to avoid their constitutional responsibility, they came to that house for advice. That step once taken, it was impossible to retread it. Alarmed at what they had done, when they were brought to the test, and when nothing on earth ought to have tempted them to change their determination, they hesitated, and expressed a disposition to compromise. The queen, that most unfortunate lady, was pursued by one part of his majesty's government for her vices, by another part for her good qualities. She had been called amiable, fascinating, generous, kind-hearted. He who called her so, had talked of his "ardent affection," of that "ardent affection," he had given what were surely the strangest proofs! The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) must, of course, be well acquainted with all the information hostile to her majesty, which had been crammed into the bag; and yet, after having consented to lay that bag on the table, he came down to the house, and affected to talk of her majesty as "the life, and grace, and ornament of

society." Her majesty had so many virtues, it seemed, that she could not be allowed to remain in England. Faction had "marked her for its own." The only faction, however, that had done so, was the faction with which the right honourable gentleman had been connected. That faction had once held her up against her husband. Who could tell whether the alienated mind of the king (if alienated it was) might not be attributable to that proceeding? Who could tell what might not have been the consequences of the proceedings of that time when the queen was made use of by a faction, which, having obtained its base purposes, as basely deserted her? The right honourable gentleman, however high his approbation of her majesty, might still think it desirable to get rid of her. But how could he reconcile that approbation with the proposed mode of getting rid of her? If it had been proposed to her majesty to leave the country with all the honours of war, it would have been something; but to send her to the continent by the explosion of the green bag, covered with filth. The honourable baronet concluded by a recapitulation of his arguments, and by again protesting against adopting the dilemma adverted to by the honourable member for Bramber. An investigation founded on the green bag would be fruitless, even for the purpose of those for whom it might be instituted. If her majesty was as deeply dyed in guilt as her bitterest enemies asserted, the people out of doors, if she were con-



victed on green bag information, would believe her to be as white as snow. (The honourable baronet sat down amidst the loudest cheers.)

Mr. *Canning* declared, that he would abstain from all topics of irritation, decline the invitation to combat thrown out by the honourable baronet, and recall the attention of the house to the question immediately before them—the last hope held out of avoiding an inquiry which so large a part of the house and the country earnestly deprecated. Upon another occasion he should avail himself of a proper opportunity of answering the most boisterous accusers, and the loudest cheers. He assured the house, that if the queen had not returned to this country, all idea of charge would have been given up; but her return left no alternative, and it became necessary either to acknowledge her majesty, and place her in possession of all the privileges of queen, or to show the reasons for not doing so.

Mr. *Tierney* began by observing, that the speech of the honourable baronet was one which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. *Canning*) could not answer: such a speech degraded the administration, and the right honourable gentleman should wait until its impression had worn away, before he could hope that his arguments would have influence or success. He then proceeded to consider the original resolution, and expressed his regret that he could not vote with member for *Bramber*, as the motives of every man who did

not were liable to be misconstrued ; but still his sense of duty was superior to his fear of misapprehension. He thought the resolution was of a nature to commit the house. It was right to take into consideration what the opinion of the other house might be, if a similar proposition was laid before it. How it might be received was not to be guessed at. Some time should at least be given which might at least avert some difficulties. He thought the debate ought to be adjourned. If it were adjourned to to-morrow, her majesty's determination could also be known. It would be impossible that an inquiry could be proceeded in, if the resolution was passed. Yet the noble lord had pressed the house for inquiry—had spoken of its absolute and immediate necessity ; and now he declared he would vote for this proposition. Was such conduct consistent, manly, dignified—was it, in short, intelligible ? That noble lord, when he urged an inquiry, would have it to be the only mode which could secure the honour of the crown and the interests of the country ; yet the resolution of the honourable member for Bramber went so far as to say, that an investigation would produce no honour to the crown, and be injurious to the interests of the state. Here were the two opinions diametrically opposite ; yet the noble lord supported each in turn, and surmounted all their inconsistency by a logic peculiar to himself.

*Mr. Brougham* rose to make some explanations. He said that he was anxious that her majesty

should not be loaded with any new difficulties before her day of trial. He had been misunderstood when he said, speaking of her majesty's name having been omitted in the Liturgy, that it was "a trifle light as air:" he considered the recognition as a trifle; for her claim to that title was clearly independent of such a recognition. She was the Queen of England as long as she was the king's wedded wife, and whether her name was continued in the Liturgy or not, it could not alter this paramount consideration. He did not think it necessary to adjourn, in order to learn the queen's determination, no more than it would be necessary in passing an order of council, to send for instance to America, to learn how it was likely to affect those to whom it applied. It had been said that the queen was soundly advised when dissuaded from returning to this country. He (Mr. B.) had not dissuaded her from returning at all; that question had never been started, but he advised her to suspend her journey for a few days, until a courier should return to St. Omer's from this country. He never advised her to abstain altogether. It had been said also, that the advice which had prompted her to a hasty return was far from being judicious. But he (Mr. B.) verily believed that her only adviser in that step had been her own great spirit. It reflected lasting honour upon her, though it would not have reflected the same honour upon any other adviser. It proved her consciousness of innocence, and her fearless-

ness to her meet accusers. He then said a few words on the proposal from Lord Liverpool to the queen, which had remained with himself for several months without being produced. He said that he had not received it as a communication to be forwarded *quam primus*; but as one on which it would be necessary to have a personal interview. She was at the time, when he received it, in Italy—he could not go there for the purpose of delivering it on account of other avocations, and the necessity of his being on the spot to defend the interests of her majesty, if they should become incidentally the subject of debate. He added, that it was not then the time to relate the extraordinary circumstances which had prevented its delivery by the hands of a noble friend of his, who could have discharged the duty as he ought. He concluded by stating, that the queen could not safely give up those points on which the negotiation had failed.

Mr. C. H. Hutchinson made a long and able statement in vindication of the conduct of his noble relative (Lord Hutchinson), who had made the proposal to the queen at St. Omer's. He expressed also his opinion, that her majesty was badly advised in making a precipitate return to England; but he declared himself hostile to all proceedings by green bags and secret committees. He would vote for none but the most public and open investigation. Some remarks which he made upon what had fallen from Mr. Brougham



relative to lord Hutchinson not having had any official instruction, called up

*Mr. Brougham*, who declared that he was as anxious for the vindication of Lord Hutchinson's character as the honourable member could be, but the time was not yet come. He had not, as was stated, expressed indignation and astonishment at the proposal made by Lord Hutchinson; but her majesty had done so.

*The Speaker* put the question, when the amendment of Lord A. Hamilton was negatived without a division. The house then divided on the resolution moved by Mr. Wilberforce: Ayes, 391—Noes, 124. Majority in favour of the original motion, 267.

A conversation now arose as to the mode in which the resolution was to be presented to her majesty.

*The Speaker* said, the usual mode was to communicate it to some of the officers of her majesty's household.

*Mr. Denman* hoped it would be conveyed in the most respectful manner; and he was confident it must be the wish of the house to do so.

Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. S. Wortley, Sir T. Ackland, and Mr. Bankes, were then named and appointed to wait upon her majesty, and present to her the resolution of the house.

*Mr. Tierney* wished to know from the noble lord, if it was to be understood that ministers assented to have the address presented to her

majesty with the usual ceremony observed in addresses to the royal consort ?

*Lord Castlereagh* thought that the nature of the debate would furnish a proper answer to the right honourable gentleman.

*Mr. Tierney* : Does the noble lord know where her majesty is to be found ?

*Lord Castlereagh* said, that was a consideration for the gentlemen who were to present it to her.

The extraordinary interest which is attached to the proceedings of Parliament in this most momentous question, unparalleled in its general nature, and unexampled in its effects upon the peace and tranquillity of the country, imposes upon us the imperious duty of giving the arguments at full, as an almost official character is thereby given to the events as they have arisen, or may in future arise, and many circumstances are thus brought into one focus connected with the illustrious parties, which would otherwise never have been exposed to public investigation. How far that investigation will tend to the establishment of the innocence of the illustrious individual it would be presumption at present to declare ; but there are a few points connected with the preceding debate, which we think it desirable to press upon the attention of the public.

In the first place, it is material to observe, as

an indication of the temper of the House of Commons, that Lord A. Hamilton's amendment was negatived without a division. That amendment had for its object to recommend the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy. This it appears, in the present stage of the proceedings, is the great object of contention; and no one will deny that her majesty justly feels the importance of the restoration of her name in the Liturgy, as without it, she exposes herself to a positive renunciation of her dignity as Queen of England in foreign courts, and to certain indignities in this country from which she ought to be kept exempt. We will simply notice the following instance of the effect of her name not being included in the Liturgy. A short time since, the directors of a well-conducted and excellent institution for the relief of aged and infirm women of good character, desirous of availing themselves of public benevolence in aid of its funds, by the usual method of a charity sermon, applied to the reverend rector of an extensive parish in the city. The reverend gentleman readily granted the use of his pulpit, and not only undertook to advocate their cause himself by a sermon on the Sunday morning, but also prevailed upon the reverend doctor, the lecturer at the same church, to preach in behalf of the society in the afternoon. In the infancy of this society, her Majesty, then Princess of Wales, had been solicited to become its patroness, to which she had not only consented, but

at the same time subscribed liberally to its funds; and to this her early countenance was to be ascribed the subsequent patronage of the late Princess Charlotte, Prince Leopold, the late Duke of Kent, and other branches of the royal family. This patronage was of course acknowledged in all their publications; and in every notice of sermons to be preached in its behalf, the society had uniformly been described as under the patronage of the Princess of Wales. The committee, suspecting no impropriety, accordingly, in their printed notice of these two sermons, announced the society as patronised by the queen's most excellent majesty; but on a copy of this notice, together with the printed account of the society, being transmitted to the reverend rector, as is usual in like cases, a few days previously to the day appointed for the sermon, he not only expressed great surprise at the insertion of her majesty's name, but appeared highly indignant that he should be expected to notice from the pulpit the name of a woman whom the council had forbid him to pray for in the Liturgy, and peremptorily refused to suffer the sermons to be preached unless they withdrew the notice, and circulated others, omitting the queen's name. To this act of ingratitude and injustice the committee were most unwilling to submit; the rector, however, was immovable; other notices were consequently substituted, with the omission, not only of her majesty's name, but, to avoid invidious distinc-



tion, of the names of all the illustrious personages to whose patronage the institution was so highly indebted for its present prosperity.

It has been already stated, that the customary honours were refused to her as Queen of England by the government of Rome, on account of her name not being included in the Liturgy, and as her future abode in an Italian state was at this time in contemplation, it was necessary for the establishment of her future rank at foreign courts, that her name should be restored to the Liturgy. Lord Castlereagh, however, insinuated in his speech, that the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy, appeared to him to be an after thought, as it was not brought forward at the commencement of the negotiation; and therefore it bore the aspect of being introduced for the purpose of throwing a fresh obstacle in the way of an amicable arrangement of the differences.

This supposition of Lord Castlereagh's was, however, satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Brougham the following evening in the House of Commons; when, he said, he trusted that the house would give him leave to supply an omission that he had made on the preceding night, although it was certainly a little irregular. It was an omission which had occurred when the discussion took place, and which was not brought to his mind until this morning, (the 23d,) when he received a communication from her majesty, reminding him of the

fact of having made it. In answer to the question of the noble lord, relative to the point of the Liturgy having been brought forward at so late a period of the negotiation, he ought, undoubtedly, in justice to that illustrious princess, to have explained, that as soon as her majesty knew of the omission of her name, with which she became acquainted upon receiving the Gazette at her place of residence upon the continent, she did immediately address a letter to one of his majesty's ministers, in order to complain of it. This was the state of the fact, and he felt it incumbent on him to bring it before the house. He was bound, at the same time, in justice to all parties, to say, that between the time of such communication from her majesty, and the commencement of the conferences, no mention had been made of the circumstance.

*Lord Castlereagh* admitted that he had been informed of such a letter having been received by a noble friend of his; he certainly last night did express his wonder at the lateness of the period at which the omission of her majesty's name had been alluded to in the course of the conference; but he would now mention, that the argument he had endeavoured to raise was, not that the question of the Liturgy did not previously exist in her majesty's mind, but that it was not brought on till some time after the negotiations had been entered into;—that, so far as regarded those negotiations, it appeared to have been an after thought.

Mr. Denman begged to say, that the fact of such a letter having been sent on the 15th of March, and of its not having been received until the 29th of the same month, was not known to him until it had been this morning notified to him by her majesty.

So far, therefore, as the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy formed a part of her demands, it appears certain, that her majesty remonstrated against the withdrawing of it, as soon as the omission was made known to her, and she afterwards insisted upon the restoration of it, or an equivalent for it, as a *sine qua non* of the basis on which an arrangement of the differences could be effected. The parliament now asks her to relinquish that point, and that in that relinquishment, the house would not consider that she had compromised her honour, "*but it would be spared the painful necessity of those public discussions, which whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings, disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.*"

Now it must be admitted that in regard to the *rights and privileges* of the queen, there has been shewn, on the part of the ministers, a kind of lawyer-like quibbling, which hurts their cause, strong as it may be *in their own opinion*. They propose to her majesty to *abstain* from the *exercise* of the rights and privileges of queen, with certain

exceptions—but they do not call upon her to *renounce any of them*. This is really the *ne plus ultra* of finesse. She is to be queen and no queen—she is to be in possession of certain rights and privileges, but she is by no means to exercise them. Ministers have no doubt in this case the support of majorities in parliament, but he must be very little acquainted with what is passing around him, who does not know that the sense of a very great majority of all ranks and classes of the country are against them. Indeed no question has in an equal degree excited the interest of the public for many years. But the feeling is all on one side. It originates in the love of justice and real regard for the sex, which exists, we firmly believe, in this country in a greater degree than in any other country in Europe. The unmeaning gallantry of the continent, the eternal parade of obsequious attention to females which we meet with whenever we cross the Channel, can only deceive the superficial observer.

It is, however, gratifying to observe, that the king, by the language expressed in the course of the former interesting discussion in parliament, is represented in the light in which he should and does appear to every person of good feeling and common reflection, and which has hitherto been mistaken or misrepresented only by faction, or the most wilful prejudice. The language of Sir Francis Burdett, respecting the painful situation of his majesty, in his personal relation to this

unfortunate affair, did him infinite credit, and Mr. Tierney even considered that the idea of forcing upon the king's feelings a galling retraction, could not for a moment be entertained. If fault has been committed, and we are far from being disposed to attach it to either party without the most mature consideration, it does seem in this instance, to rest solely with ministers, and a fault they do seem to have committed at the very outset. There was too much of petty hostility in their first movements, for they attempted to arrive at their object by the form of official manœuvring through an intermediate agent. Had they communicated directly with the queen—had they ascertained her sentiments—had they negotiated with her on the basis of frankness and moderation—it is highly probable that the scandalous notoriety which has already taken place would have been avoided. But there is a perverse vanity or instinct in man, which tempts him to endeavour to obtain his ends by tortuous means, rather than by a straight-forward course. It is as true in morals as it is in mathematics, that the right line is the shortest from any given point to another.

In the house of peers on the 23d, ministers were not present, but *Lord Grey* rose, and stated, that it had been his intention to put a question to Lord Liverpool if he had seen the noble lord in his place, the object of which, was to discover

whether ministers had it in contemplation to alter their course of proceeding upon the question relative to her majesty, or to persevere in the inquiry by a secret committee. His lordship observed that the question had now assumed a character altogether new, that the resolution which had been carried by ministers, aided by a large majority in the House of Commons, declaring an inquiry "whatever might be its result, to be derogatory to the interests of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country," was of itself a strong proof of the impropriety of the course which ministers had induced the house to adopt, as they supported in one house a proposition which condemned expressly what they had attempted to carry into effect in the other. He said that, in the new aspect which the case had taken, if the noble earl to whom he alluded should persist in the committee, he should feel it incumbent upon him to submit a proposition to the house on the following Monday, to meet the altered nature of this distressing and important subject.

It having been understood, from the parliamentary proceedings of the 23d, that the deputation of the House of Commons, appointed to wait on her majesty with the resolutions adopted by the house on that night, would perform their solemn and important duty on the following Saturday, about mid-day, public curiosity was strongly excited to know the result, and accordingly a great assemblage was collected round the

residence of her majesty. The crowd began to assemble at an early hour. It remained perfectly peaceable, and manifested only symptoms of gratification and good humour, till its temper was disturbed, about 11 o'clock, by a man who, from his countenance, appeared to be a foreigner, and who was dressed in that kind of manner which is called shabby genteel. This person, in passing the house of her majesty, threw a short stick at the parlour-window. He was immediately apprehended, and, as he refused to give any reason for having committed the outrage, he would soon have received summary justice from the crowd, had not some respectable persons interfered, and suggested that from his demeanour he must either be intoxicated or deranged. This explanation of his conduct seemed to be satisfactory for the moment, and the defaulter was allowed to be taken unmolested to the public office Marlborough-street, where the motives of his mad act experienced a more deliberate and impartial investigation.

The interest of the transaction which was to take place, and the fineness of the day, continued to attract great crowds to the street in which her majesty resided. By one o'clock an immense multitude had assembled. Portman-street was filled over its whole length from the square to Oxford-street. Noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, ladies in open carriages, and persons of all ages and descriptions on foot, were con-

fusedly mingled together. A considerable number of members of parliament were present, among whom were Lord Sefton, Mr. Calcraft, Sir R. Wilson, Sir H. M'Gowan, Count Antonio, &c., amidst the crowd on horseback. The windows and balconies were filled with spectators of all ages and ranks. Many persons of distinction, and elegantly dressed females were observed amongst them. It would be difficult to conceive a more interesting and enlivening scene than that which Portman-street exhibited, immediately before the arrival of the deputation, and during its stay. The multitude could not be called a mob from the materials of which it was composed, though it displayed all the eager zeal and unanimous feeling by which a mob is usually distinguished. The conduct of the lower class seemed to be regulated by that decorum which the presence of their superiors was calculated to inspire. The only symptom of discontented feeling which manifested itself was on the arrival of the deputation, about a quarter past one o'clock. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Wortley occupied the first carriage. As soon as they made their appearance, strong feelings of displeasure were indicated by hissing, hooting, and groaning, which continued as the carriages of Sir T. Acland and Mr. Banks drove up to the door. All the four members alighted without any interruption. They were dressed in full court costume, and shewed a proper insensibility to the uncourt-



ous manner in which they were greeted by the multitude, who vociferated "No address!" The pages of the honourable members passed on towards the adjoining square, and the crowd condensed in patient expectation for the result of the review. About three-quarters of an hour intervened between the entrance and the departure of the deputation. When they were introduced to her majesty, she was standing in the drawing-room, attended by Lady A. Hamilton, and having on her right Mr. Brougham, and on her left Mr. Canning, both in their full-bottomed wigs and robes, as if at court. The folding doors were then thrown open, and the four deputies of the House of Commons in full court dresses entered, and were severally presented to her majesty by Mr. Brougham, who informed her majesty of the places for which they were members. They severally knelt and kissed her majesty's hand. Mr. Wilberforce read the following resolutions, by command of the house :—

*Jovis 22, die Junii, 1820.*

Resolved—That this house has learned, with unfeigned and deep regret, that the late endeavours to frame an arrangement which might avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two houses of parliament have not led to that amicable adjustment of the existing differences in the royal family which was so anxiously desired by parliament and the nation.

“ That this house, fully sensible of the objections which the queen might justly feel to taking upon herself the relinquishment of any points in which she might have conceived

her own dignity and honour to be involved, yet feeling the inestimable importance of an amicable and final adjustment of the present unhappy differences, cannot forbear declaring its opinion, that when such large advances have been made towards that object, her majesty, by yielding to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and forbearing to press further the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion yet remains, would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her majesty has been graciously pleased to express to submit her own wishes to the authority of parliament; thereby entitling herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the House of Commons, and sparing this house the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her majesty's feelings—disappointing to the hopes of parliament—derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.

Ordered—That these resolutions be laid before her majesty.

Ordered—That Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Sir T. Acland, and Mr. Bankes, do attend her majesty with the said resolutions.

J. DYSON.

Her majesty delivered to Mr. Brougham the following answer, which he read by her majesty's command, and delivered it to Mr. Wilberforce :

“ I am bound to receive with gratitude, every attempt on the part of the House of Commons, to interpose its high mediation, for the purpose of healing those unhappy differences in the royal family, which no person has so much reason to deplore as myself. And with perfect truth I can

declare that an entire reconciliation of those differences effected by the authority of parliament, on principles consistent with the honour and dignity of all the parties, is still the object nearest to my heart.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sense of the passionate language of these resolutions. It shews the House of Commons to be the faithful representative of that generous people, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude it can never be repaid. I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the judges of my conduct.—But I trust to their candour and their sense of honour, confident that they will enter into the feelings which alone influence my determination.

"It would ill become me to question the power of parliament, or the mode in which it may at any time be exercised.—But however strongly I may feel the necessity of submitting to its authority; the question, whether I will make myself a party to any measure proposed, must be decided by my own feelings and conscience, and by them alone.

"As a subject of the state, I shall bow with deference, and if possible, without murmur, to every act of the sovereign authority. But, as an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow-subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual."

The members of the deputation then made their obeisance and retired. As their carriages were called for, and as they entered them, they were saluted in the same unceremonious manner as when they arrived. Mr. Brougham accom-

panied the deputation to the door, and soon afterwards left the house in company with Mr. Denman. As the carriage of the learned gentlemen was called, and as they entered it, they were loudly cheered by the multitude, who expressed a desire to take their horses away and to drag them home. This testimony of popular applause Mr. Brougham resisted, and the mob with some appearance of disappointment yielded to his wishes. They, however, asked if her majesty had agreed to the surrender of her rights, and were, it is believed, answered in the negative. When the deputation and her majesty's law-officers had left Portman-street, the multitude, which still continued assembled, began a loud huzzaing and clapping of hands, and calls of "The queen! the queen!" inviting her majesty to appear and receive their applause. Her majesty, obeying the call, appeared on the balcony, and, we need scarcely state, was received with the liveliest enthusiasm. Shouts of "Long live the queen!—God bless you!" continued for several minutes. Her majesty was dressed in a robe of black satin, richly embroidered, and wore on her head a bandeau of laurel leaves, studded with emeralds, and surmounted with a superb plume of feathers. Her majesty looked extremely well. The crowd continued in front of her majesty's residence during the afternoon, and by repeated shouts evinced an enthusiastic feeling in her favour. The report was spread that she had reject-

## MEMOIRS OF CAROLINE,

overtures for any compromise inconsistent with her dignity as queen, and this seemed to add to the affectionate cheers of the people. The animated scene continued till long after dusk. The House of Commons resolved on this important occasion to depart from its established practice of adjourning from Friday to Monday, to meet on the Saturday; and, although the instance of the queen having refused to accede to the wishes of the house was generally disapproved, yet so great was the interest excited to ascertain the steps which would be in consequence taken by the Legislature, that on an early morning on Saturday, the vicinity of the House of Commons was crowded by all descriptions of people, and several of the members who were recognised, were rather uncourteously greeted on account of the opinions which they had expressed against the queen.

The house having met at the usual time, some preliminary business was transacted, when Mr. Wilberforce, accompanied by Mr. Stuart Wortley, entered the house. The former was loudly called for; but Mr. S. Wortley took his place at the bar, attended by Mr. Banks and Sir T. Acland (the deputation appointed), and announced that the deputation appointed to wait upon her majesty had that day delivered to the queen the resolutions of that house, as authorized by their vote, to which her majesty had returned the answer which we have already given.





GENERAL FERGUSON, M.P.

*London, Published by Tho<sup>s</sup> Kelly, 17, Paternoster Row, Sep 29, 1821.*

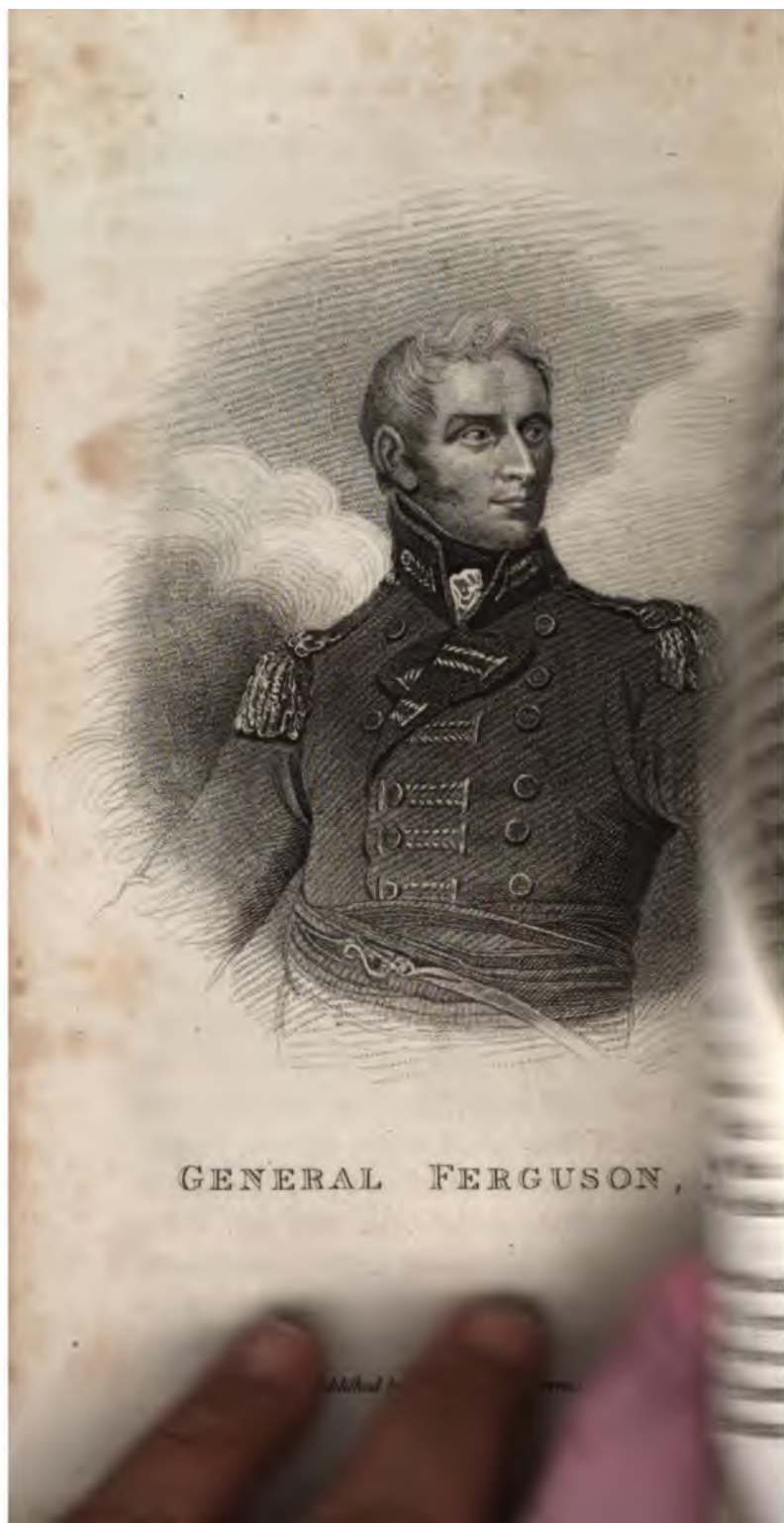
Her majesty's answer was then read by Mr. S. Wortley.

Mr. Wilberforce, who had also a copy of the answer, and who corrected Mr. S. Wortley, in a few immaterial words in the course of reading it, was called on by the Speaker, carried up the answer to the table, and deposited it in the hands of the clerk.

After which, *General Fergusson* rose and said, as we are now about to enter upon this unhappy investigation, which, according to ministers, so seriously affects the dignity of the crown and the interests of the people at large, we have a right, I think, before we proceed further, to receive some information concerning transactions which have reference to this painful subject. Before we begin the consideration of the inquiry, I beg to ask a question respecting the Milan Commission. Was it a public or a private commission? Was it sanctioned by the legitimate advisers of the crown? Was there a report from it; and if so, to whom was it made? I should also like to know by whom that commission was appointed? and by whom the expense was defrayed? I hope this question will receive an answer from the noble lord opposite.

*Lord Castlereagh*—I hope the honourable and gallant general will excuse me, on the present occasion, for reminding him, that when we agreed to meet to-day, it was specifically understood by the honourable and learned gentleman opposite





GENERAL FERGUSON,

Admiral

1801



(Mr. Brougham) and I believe by others, that we were not to meet for discussion, but merely to receive the queen's answer. As we are to enter upon this subject on Monday, and as it may perhaps be necessary that the public should see the whole extent of this painful subject, I do hope that it will not be expected of me now to say one word more that can lead to premature discussion. I must therefore decline answering the honourable and gallant general's question at the present moment.

*Mr. M. A. Taylor* protested against the doctrine laid down by the noble lord, that his agreement with any honourable member was to be admitted as a bar to any inquiry which others might think proper to make. The question was a very proper one, and he thought the noble lord was in duty bound to give it an explicit answer. He need not, of course, unless he chose; but as he had said that the house was now to know the extent of the question, for the purpose of guarding better against its consequences, he thought it but proper that an answer should be given to so serious a question as that put by his honourable and gallant friend. It related to an occurrence which had either arisen from an authorized or unauthorized agency. It was either the act of Government, or the under-hand dealing of others. In either case it was material to know, whether the transaction had been adopted by responsible authorities. His view of the matter was this:—If ministers

saw any disposition elsewhere to act exclusive of their advice upon so momentous an occasion—if they saw any steps taken, which they could not with consistency and in conformity with their duty encourage, they were bound to give advice to that effect to their royal master; and if that advice were not received in the manner they thought it was entitled to, it was their duty to resign. He did assure the gentlemen who had just indicated their feelings, that he spoke disinterestedly; for so far from having a wish that his friends, or the gentlemen who surrounded him, should get into place, he thought it impossible that a greater curse could befall them, or a greater calamity visit them, than to succeed to the places of the present ministers, in the state of misery to which those ministers had by their counsels reduced the country. For their august royal master, from whom he had been now separated for years, he entertained the highest friendship, if he dare speak in such terms of his sovereign, to whom he yielded in respectful duty to no man. If the noble lord (Castlereagh) could resume his gravity, he would tell him that he (Mr. Taylor) spoke feelingly from his sense of the state of the country, and not from any spleen that could be supposed to arise from his having been separated as it were from that sovereign, perhaps by the counsels of that noble lord. He spoke out honestly, and under an imperious sense of his duty as a member of parliament. If in what he had

I were any expressions personally hurtful feelings of the illustrious individual, he was to beg pardon—but not of the noble lord. I would assure the noble lord, that he was mistaken if he thought he could embarrass (Mr. Taylor) by any thing which he do. He repeated it, that he lamented to see an illustrious individual in the hands of the lord and his colleagues. The noble lord again. Had the noble lord preserved his looks, he (Mr. Taylor) would have sat down so. He insisted on it, that the question of an honourable friend was perfectly proper; and an answer should be given to it, it would carry a weight to his breast, that there was something in the Milan Commission so odious and dishonourable, that the noble lord would not dare to assent to it. He strongly objected to any compromise on the part of his honourable friends. He thought it highly improper for the house to be ruled in its conduct, in an affair of such importance, by the decision of two or three individuals.

Sir R. Wilson did not wish to provoke discussion, but he felt it necessary to ask the noble lord if the adjourned debate on the king's message would be resumed on Monday, or if it was intended by ministers to insist on the appointment of a secret committee? He asked for the purpose of obtaining information for his constituents, who were anxious to seize the opportunity, if any

should offer, to express their objections to that mode of proceeding, by way of petition to the house.

*Lord Castlereagh* declined giving any answer to any further question.

*Mr. R. Martin* said, that no man was more disposed than himself to feel for the infirmities of human nature. Accordingly he felt great commiseration for the infirmities which had been displayed by the gentleman who had spoken last but one. His speech was just such a one as he (*Mr. Martin*) should have expected to hear from a minister newly discarded from office, on addressing his successors. He protested against the speech altogether; which, besides that it had nothing to do with the business before the house, was for the greatest part about himself. It was highly indecorous to be putting questions to the noble lord, especially when it was known to be the feeling of the house, that there ought to be no discussion.

The house then adjourned; but numbers collected in groups to read the queen's reply again, and it was a considerable time before the crowd, which had been immense, completely dispersed.

We will now cast a short glance at the steps by which the transaction has reached its present stage. Certain reports, whether true or false, had come to the knowledge of his majesty, respecting the conduct of the queen during her residence abroad. It has been said, that these



were derived from foreigners, from low dishonourable persons. To obviate this objection, Englishmen of respectable stations in life, of honourable character, were commissioned to procure information. With a most ridiculous inconsistency, this proceeding also has been blamed, and the evidence is impeached in one instance as coming from too low, and on the other, from too high a source. The statements, however, thus obtained, appeared to the eminent persons before whom they were several months ago laid, to be such as would warrant most grave and serious charges against the queen. They, however, felt that unwillingness, since participated in by so large a majority of the legislature, to place her majesty in a state of accusation; they were inclined to sink the very word "accusation," and to treat the matter as one of "differences," unhappily subsisting; and in this view it was unquestionably desirable, that it should have been settled by negotiation with her majesty abroad. She, however, chose to come to England, and they had then no alternative, but to act on the information in their hands. Far be it from us to impute blame to her majesty for the step which she has taken, in resolving to appeal at once to the nation in vindication of her honour, and to support her in the establishment of those rights and privileges which are attached to her exalted station. Innocence is not to be daunted by the threats of power, and although it may for a time be obliged

to succumb to the machinations of the slanderer; yet it will eventually soar superior to every petty artifice, and the shafts which have been so industriously aimed at it, will recoil with triple force upon those who impelled them. The accused individual who braves investigation of the charges adduced against her, who defies her enemies to produce their evidence, and boldly resolves to confront them, stands upon no common ground—she appears almost invested with a sacred character, and her claims are powerful upon every humane and liberal mind. It is the guilty only who fly from the examination of their conduct, for “he is twice arm’d who hath his quarrel just.” The queen’s appeal to the nation stands upon the basis of her innocence, and the whole nation stands pledged to believe in it, until proof “strong as holy writ” confirms the contrary. But notwithstanding the heavy charges brought against her, grounded on oral and ocular testimony, ministers certainly proceeded with the utmost caution. They desired not to institute any hostile proceedings, judicial or legislative, against her majesty, unless their own impression of the ground of charge should be confirmed by the opinion of committees of both houses of parliament.

This measure has been exclaimed against, as unknown to the practice of parliament, and in itself unjust. It is, however, neither; as to the practice of parliament, we find an instance occurring so



as the 11th year of the reign of Edward III., bears a remarkable analogy to the present

In that year, it was agreed in parliament the bishops of Durham and Salisbury, the of Northampton, Arundel, Warwick, and ury, should hear the answer of the arch- of Canterbury, of divers matters whereof he tefamed through the realm, and if the said rs were suitable, the king would hold him ed; but if it should appear to the king and uncil, that the same were insufficient, then id answer should be debated in the next ment, and judgment there given upon the

It is true, that the archbishop was per- to give in his answers to the committee of y; but it is by no means proved that there be any objection to the queen's giving in answers to the present committee, supposing that her advisers should think such a step advisable. The main consideration, however, is, that the committees, both formerly and now, were and are merely preparatory and deliberative. They are not a secret tribunal to condemn, but a mere sort of domestic forum, which may discharge, and at the utmost, can only put the party on a public trial. Even this introductory measure the House of Commons earnestly wished to stop, by a mediation certainly honourable to the queen. Her majesty's feelings, sharpened and exalted as they

have been since her arrival, by the voice of the people, have set at nought the good wishes of parliament, and those consequences must follow which her sincerest friends would have averted.

Several persons, and particularly those who have lately been abroad, think that the lenity and indulgence, these half measures and middle courses adopted towards the queen, are not enough, and that the public opinion of Europe requires that a full examination should either prove the queen to be innocent of the conduct imputed to her, or should separate entirely, and in a formal manner, her character from that of the English nation. Persons of this opinion allege, that in private life, as long as the impropriety or disorderly conduct of an individual is confined within her own family, public exposure and legal vindication may prudently be avoided; but that when the scandal becomes public, when the tongues of neighbours grow busy with the affair, when the blindness or silence of those at home cannot prevent the disgrace arising from the discussion of the subject abroad, then, it has been universally admitted, that the injured husband, or indulgent father is bound to do himself justice in the face of the world.

There is much weight in such observations, they are peculiarly applicable to the present case, and in strict justice we do not know that we can deny them; but when great political and moral interests become involved with private feel-

ings, it is allowable to consider the subject on a principle of expediency, and to temper rigid justice with indulgence and policy.

We perfectly coincide then in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Wilberforce, sanctioned by the House of Commons, and acted upon by the king's ministers from the beginning, in regard to the necessity of getting rid of a scandal with the least possible exposure, and, provided the sacred Queen of England, a character now endeared and venerable to the world, by the public and private virtues of the two last partners of the throne; provided, we say, that character be severed from the imputations to which we allude, of bearing in decent silence the conduct of individuals. The expectations which were thus excited by the avowal of principles like these,—an avowal which spoke the high moral feeling of the British nation; these expectations have now been destroyed by the councils which have been given to her majesty—councils which may call into action the ignorant passions of the vulgar; but their true value will be estimated by every well regulated mind, and it requires nothing but a confidence in our national character, to predict that the indignation of all the better portion of society will be abundantly visited upon those, who have counselled her majesty to reject the mediation of the House of Commons, and thereby to plunge the country in anarchy and confusion.

In consequence of the queen's rejection of the

advice of parliament, ministers saw themselves reduced to the extremity of proceeding to the committee ; and this measure being decided upon, her majesty lost no time in sending down a petition to the House of Lords, appealing strongly against the measures to be pursued against her, and demanding to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house. This petition was presented on Monday, the 26th, by *Lord Dacre*, who in presenting it to their lordships regretted that the illustrious person had not been enabled to place it on the table through a medium better calculated to give weight to the proceeding, namely, through that of the highest authority in the house (the Lord Chancellor). In this petition her majesty complained of the mode of inquiry instituted against her, being a secret committee. She complained that this inquiry respecting her conduct was instituted at a period when she had not time to procure witnesses from the continent. She complained that by this course of proceeding an unfavourable impression might be made against her before she had an opportunity to rebut the evidence brought secretly forward by her accusers. He had never been honoured with her majesty's acquaintance, nor had he the slightest communication with her. Their lordships must be aware that the public opinion was decidedly against an inquiry by a secret committee, the appointment of which was notoriously in the hands of his majesty's ministers. Many of the names

included in the list of that committee were those of noble lords who had already given an opinion on the case. The list contained the names of four cabinet ministers, and of two persons of high station, who must be supposed to have received impressions unfavourable to the illustrious person accused. It was not to be believed that the venerable prelate at the head of the church (the Archbishop of Canterbury), or the noble and learned lord, would have suffered the name of her majesty to be excluded from the Liturgy, had they not admitted that there were grounds for the proceeding.

*The Lord Chancellor* had no objection to the petition being laid on the table. He had refused to present that petition because it appeared to him better that it should be presented by any other noble lord than by him. He had happened not to know the mode in which such a petition should be presented ; and the journals gave him no information. If he erred in his decision, it was not from any disrespect to the illustrious individual in question.

The petition of her majesty was then received, and read by the reading-clerk at the table as follows :

*“ To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

“ **CAROLINE R.**—The Queen having been informed that proceedings are about to be instituted against her in the House of Lords, feels it necessary to approach your

Lordships as a petitioner and a fellow subject. She is advised, that, according to the forms of your Lordships' house, no other mode of communication is permitted. Now, as at all times, she declares her perfect readiness to meet every charge affecting her honour; and she challenges the most complete investigation of her conduct. But she protests, in the first place, against any secret inquiry: and if the House of Lords should notwithstanding persist in a proceeding so contrary to every principle of justice and of law, she must in the next place declare, that even from such an unconstitutional course she can have nothing to apprehend, unless it be instituted before the arrival of those witnesses whom she will summon immediately to expose the whole of the machinations against her. She is anxious that there should be no delay whatever in finishing the inquiry; and none shall be occasioned by her majesty. But the Queen cannot suppose that the House of Lords will commit so crying an injustice, as to authorize a secret examination of her conduct in the absence of herself and her counsel, while her defence must obviously rest upon evidence, which for some weeks cannot reach this country. The instant that it arrives she will entreat the House of Lords to proceed in any way they may think consistent with the ends of justice: but in the mean time, and before the first step is taken, her Majesty desires to be heard by her counsel at your Lordship's bar this day upon the subject matter of the Petition."

*Lord Dacre* moved, in pursuance of the desire expressed in the petition, that counsel be now called in.

*The Lord Chancellor* having put the question, this motion was agreed to without opposition, and counsel being called in, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Den-

man, and Mr. John Williams, appeared at the bar as counsel for the queen, and Mr. Vizard as solicitor to her majesty.

The petition of the queen was again read by the reading-clerk at the table.

*Mr. Brougham*: " My lords, I have the honour to attend at this bar, as counsel for her majesty the queen. I understand 't is the pleasure of your lordships, that we should now be heard on the subject of the matter contained in the papers on your table. It might, perhaps, be more consistent with what I owe to my illustrious client, if, feeling the extreme importance of the interests concerned, and sensible of the feeble powers which it falls to my lot to bring to the discharge of such a duty as devolves upon me, I were to intreat your lordships for a few hours' delay, in order that I might be enabled to discharge that duty with more effect, than can be expected under the circumstances in which I appear before you. But I have the command of my illustrious client to forego all considerations personal to myself, and to encounter all minor risks to which her cause may be exposed, rather than there should seem to exist on the part of her majesty the smallest disposition to delay inquiry, or to impede your lordships' wishes for an immediate investigation into the charges brought against her. It is the more necessary for me, standing here on the part of the illustrious petitioner, to make this statement to your lordships

of the command of her majesty as expressed to me, because it is above all things important to the interest of her cause, that this application which we make this day should not be understood to be, in the vulgar sense of the word, an application for delay. It is not for a delay of the prosecution that we ask—it is not for a delay of the judgment which must result from that prosecution, and which must be a judgment of honourable acquittal. I say must, because I feel that she is guiltless, and because I feel that you are just. And because she is guiltless, and because you are just, and because the petition is founded on principles of law which must be set at defiance before you can be advised to reject the prayer which it contains, I ask your lordships to consent to that prayer as a necessary step towards the fair and equitable investigation which her majesty is entitled to request at your hands. Her majesty's conduct is about to be brought in question. We have a right to know what proceedings are about to be instituted in the two houses of parliament. His majesty's message, the foundation of those proceedings, states that the bags laid before both houses, contain papers by way of charge against the queen, and that those charges relate to the conduct of her majesty during her residence abroad. What the nature of those charges is—what the nature of the testimony by which they are to be supported is, how it has been raked together, who



have been the tools, or how, or by whom, they have been set at work to procure the evidence or information, as it is called by a figure of speech, but as I must call it more truly, the odious matter contained in the bag, I will not stop to inquire. It is enough for me to know, what I can collect from the message, that whatever may be found in that bag, be it creditable, or be it odious with respect to those from whom it has proceeded, is only meant and intended to impeach the character of the queen by something falsely alleged to have taken place abroad. Now we know that her majesty, while abroad, resided at a considerable distance from this country, that the greater part of the time she passed across the Alps and Appenines, and the smaller part across the Alps; but that during the whole of the time she was placed at so great a distance from the seat of that tribunal before which she is now to appear, as renders it physically impossible to procure the witnesses, depositions, or correspondence, which must be necessary to her defence, at any period within the compass of five or six weeks from this moment. It would require so much time barely to send letters and receive answers; but if your lordships further wait until the witnesses are collected, whose presence is absolutely indispensable, without whom it is impossible that I can cross-examine a single individual of those wretches—, I beg your lordships' pardon, those persons by whose testi-

mony the charges are to be supported—it will require an addition of five or six weeks longer to the time. Do not, my lords—do not let it be said or fancied, nor let it be whispered elsewhere by those who will not state it in their places, and under the public eye, that this is the plea of guilt. My lords, it is the plea of innocence. The more innocent the queen is, the more abominable and base and treacherous those are who are to be brought against her—the more essentially necessary does it become that she should have at hand those witnesses, documents, and communications, which she knows she can have to overwhelm her adversaries with confusion. Reflect upon the peculiarities of her majesty's case, which are not of her own making, but which separate it from other cases by difficulties and embarrassments peculiar to itself. When an Englishman or an Englishwoman is placed in a situation where it becomes necessary that they should defend their characters, and who in the most upright walk of life can be assured, that by foul contrivances he may not be reduced to such a necessity, your lordships will remember, that such Englishman or Englishwoman has one safeguard and shield. The witnesses are all English; there is no foreigner amongst them, whose principles may hang loosely and negligently about him, whose testimony may be doubtful, though it cannot be disproved, who may deny the obligation of an oath, or who, admitting the

obligation, may suppose that his conscience will stand excused in consequence of the want of some sanction which our practice does not require, and our forms do not recognize. What is her next security? The witnesses are her own countrymen. They are known to her—they are known to the judge who tries her, and to the counsel who pleads for her. The press too, is at her hand—it describes the manner in which the witness gave his evidence—his conduct in the court, and those circumstances of manner which have their weight in influencing the opinion as to the credibility to which his depositions are entitled. The third security is, that she has a compulsory process by which she can bring forward witnesses and compel them to speak the truth, however reluctant to do so. Against that process, neither bribes, nor threats, nor promises, nor procurement can prevail. But how is her majesty situated? The witnesses in her case are all foreigners, with whom the obligation of an oath may be relaxed by their belief in the efficacy of subsequent confession. Though I speak before an assembly of bold men—of men, I am persuaded, as bold even as the distinguished Duke of Wellington, in whose presence I perceive that I am also speaking, I do not hesitate to pronounce it as my firm belief, that there is not one amongst you who would not tremble with apprehension if his wife or his daughter was to be exposed to the statements of such a cloud of witnesses. Her

majesty cannot compel the attendance of those who could speak in her favour. They may refuse, and she has no power to force them, nor has she inducements to hold out which may conquer their disinclination. She is not in a condition to be followed. She has been disowned in foreign countries, and neglected at home, so that she is unable to array either by threats or bribe, or force, or fear, or expectation of courtiership, numbers of those upon whose attendance her justification must depend. The witnesses against her are not her neighbours; their characters are not known. They may be persons who care not what they say at home, and who care still less what they say in a remote part of the world. What conscious innocence then must support this illustrious woman, who, under all those circumstances, says to us, "Go on, ask no delay." But it is my duty, and if I neglect it, it is your duty, my lords, as her judges, to see that she does not suffer from her own fearlessness, and that the innocence of an accused party shall not be brought by its natural magnanimity into danger. That is precisely the object of this application. I wish for an opportunity to know more of the witnesses. What I have already discovered of some, makes me more anxious to know more of the rest. Now I will pray any lawyer to tell me—I will beseech any one who has ever witnessed a trial, to tell me, how can I proceed to cross-examine a single witness without knowing something of his neigh-

bourhood, his habits, or his character? To put the case of one who has come to my knowledge. Amongst those who appear against her majesty, is one who has been discharged from her service for having robbed her of four hundred Napoleons. This can be proved by two witnesses; one of them is at Rouen, in France, and he is an English naval officer—no Italian spy—no Hanoverian baron—but an English officer who has bled in the cause of his country. Should not the instance of this individual render me cautious of all the rest, and especially as I have reason to know that the other witnesses can be treated in the same manner, if time is given for inquiry? I ask no favour of your lordships, but justice. I ask you, as the queen's judges, into which you have erected yourselves, whether you will drive me to defend her majesty under the disadvantages I have described? If I demanded any thing which could lead to the suspension of the proceedings, or to delay the result of the inquiry for a single hour, I should immediately abandon that demand, for I should have her majesty's directions to do so. But I only ask you to pause at the commencement, without protracting the conclusion; for, after the Secret Tribunal has reported, you must give time for the production of this evidence; so that whether you agree to it in one stage or in the other, the ultimate result must come when the same hour strikes, in both cases. I am presuming, perhaps I ought not, that after you have deter-

mined on a parliamentary inquiry, and sent the echo of the charges all over the land, with greater or less accuracy, according as the proceeding is public or private (if public with greater, and if private with less)—I have presumed, that her majesty's character being thus blackened by uncontradicted statements and reports, you will, out of the exuberance of your justice, allow some delay to enable her to bring forward the evidence on which she relies for her acquittal. I have assumed this, because there is no court of justice, whether in England or at Milan, in which such an application could be resisted. If you are British judges, it is impossible that you can refuse it. If you refuse it I am bound to say that you cannot deserve the character. I submit to your lordships, whether you will now permit the delay required, or whether you will delay the permission until it is too late to answer the purpose for which it is intended, as it must be if you postpone it, till the preliminary investigation has taken place. All I ask is, that you will not proceed to hear the cause, in a manner which must lead to the condemnation of any individual, however innocent. I ask for that which every British court of justice must grant, where no one can be put upon his trial without being allowed time to bring forward his witnesses, and the refusal of which, the most innocent man who hears me, must feel to operate as a sentence of outlawry from his country. I have a right to assume from

the votes of Parliament, and to cite the authority of one branch of the legislature, as at least worthy of attention, that we are now about to enter on an investigation, which one branch of the legislature has pronounced 'distressing to the feelings of her majesty, disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.' I feel the more confident, when I reflect on this, that in an investigation which the House of Commons has so described, the delay of two little months will not be considered too great an indulgence for the purpose of furthering the ends of justice, and providing that a legal murder should not be committed on the character of the first subject in the realm.

*Mr. Denman.*—My lords, perhaps I should best consult the interests of my illustrious client, if I were to leave her cause to the powerful impression already made; but there are some circumstances which, perhaps, require one or two observations from me. As I happened to be the person who brought down the petition, in the absence of my learned friend, I may be permitted to express my confidence that I was not guilty of any aberration from the forms of the house, or the principles of justice, in the course which I adopted. I did not suppose that any considerations of a personal nature could exist, to render it unfit for me to ask, as a favour, from any peer of parliament, that he would present the petition with which I

was intrusted. It did not appear to me, from any similar case, that the cause was one which could interfere with the preliminary proceedings; whether the house was to exercise the capacity of a grand jury, or any other within its functions to assume. The task of apologizing does not rest with him who only presents a petition for consideration; but those who refuse such a petition are bound to shew upon what principle they act in a manner so derogatory to the practice of the British parliament. If there is any difficulty in the case of a queen appealing to the House of Lords, I have no doubt that, as a subject of the realm, she has a right to be heard by petition against any doctrine or practices, by which her life or character might be endangered. It is difficult to know how to proceed in a case of anomaly, such as the present. When I look forward to the consequences, I find myself totally in the dark, contending against shadows and clouds. It is impossible to say, but that the mode of impeachment may after all be determined on as the most proper to bring the supposed offender to justice. On the other hand, I am aware that another mode of proceeding may be adopted, namely, a bill of pains and penalties, which, pushed to its extremity, attaches exile, infamy, and even death. In either case, it is important that the prayer of the petitioner should be complied with: for whether your lordships attend to the evidence on the prosecution of the House of Commons, or whether you proceed



to investigate by a committee of fifteen peers, you should be prepared against the existence of any improper bias. To have an impression made on the minds of fifteen peers, by the contents of the green bag, to pause for a length of time on the poison, and, finally, to pronounce judgment upon honour of guilt or innocence, is a course of proceeding from which it is impossible but that the most honourable mind must receive a taint. I will not allude to the vile, abominable manner in which the evidence has been scraped together; but I will put the case, how very likely it is, after the separation which every one must regret, that persons would come forward to volunteer such evidence as they might suppose to be agreeable. But if, in addition to those volunteer witnesses, there are others, of the description given by my learned friend in his account, of which he seems to have had in view the language of the poet—

“Some cogg'ing, cozening slave, to get some office,

“Hath devis'd this slander!”—

how much more necessary is it to accede to the prayer of the petition? It is under these circumstances that we request your lordships to pause, and not postpone, for your ultimate decision will experience no delay, and no difficulty will be opposed to the speedy termination of this awful proceeding. Nothing can be more fatal to justice, than that a cause should be half heard. Another matter of importance to justice is, that

the proceedings should be simultaneous, for where they are not so, a door is opened to subornation of perjury, through the under agents. When I look round on this illustrious assembly, and consider my own feeble powers, I cannot conclude better than by a quotation from a predecessor of your lordship: "A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys, and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal, that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground."

*Mr. Williams* was then about to address the house, when

*The Lord Chancellor* interposed, and stated that it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to hear more than two counsel on the part of any petitioner.

*The Earl of Liverpool* moved that the petition be taken into consideration to-morrow, in order that they might have twenty-four hours to consider the powerful arguments that had been urged.

After a short conversation across the table, between *Earls Grey* and *Liverpool*, the motion was agreed to, on an understanding that *Earl Grey* would bring forward his motion on the same day, if the prayer of the petition was not agreed to.

The proceedings in the Commons were yet more various.

Lord Castlereagh rose to address the house on the subject of the adjourned debate on the king's message. The house would recollect, that on the first night of the discussion on this question, the adjournment was not proposed in order to see what shape the proceeding to be adopted should take; but for the purpose of entering into a negotiation, in the hopes of averting altogether the necessity of taking any steps on the papers then before them. Without attempting to pass obloquy on any party, he must say that he did feel that there were certain strong grounds for adopting the course then taken. Her majesty had intimated her readiness to yield her judgment up to the guidance of Parliament. From the commencement of the negotiation, too, it had been understood that the moment her majesty was restored to her dignity as queen, she should consider any other arrangement as of secondary consequence; and in effect, that *sine qua non* having been granted, two intermediate persons had been appointed, to whom were intrusted all other matters of interest, patronage, or income. After such indications, he should have thought that her majesty would yield herself to the anxious wishes of Parliament. Yet in a most authoritative tone she had rejected what had never before been done by any part of the same illustrious family which now filled the throne of this country. Our history

might be searched without finding a case wherein this, or any other family, had ever been found so to treat the request, so tendered, of that house. He did not state this in a tone of reproach, but the house could not but feel chagrined to have their counsel rejected, when they addressed the crown on a question deeply involving the interest of the country, of a nature so serious and sacred. On such an occasion would the house not have desired to know who was the minister who had dared to advise the crown against the recommendations, and in the very face of the house? But it was one of the many excellencies of the Constitution under which we live, that what no minister would dare to advise, an individual might with impunity venture to adopt. That illustrious individual might repent the step which had been taken. It certainly was as serious an appeal as ever was made to any member of the House of Brunswick; and after that, he apprehended all that remained for them to do was, to see what course of proceeding was best calculated to put the matter in a train of judicial investigation, now that they had done all that they could to avoid that alternative. Now, therefore, that the case was fairly established on its present altered state, it became his majesty's ministers to make some alteration in the mode to be pursued respecting it; and if Parliament could consent to receive a direct proposition from them, containing a definite statement of what the charges

against the queen are, and the evidence on which they are supported, he thought that was the course it was imperative on them to pursue, and one which would be most consonant with her majesty's view of her own situation. He would now endeavour to explain what that course of proceeding was, which he thought would probably be best liked by the queen. With reference to that part of her majesty's answer, in which she expressed her apprehensions of exciting the resentment of the house, because her majesty had denied herself to an application which no Brunswick before had ever done; he trusted the course they should decide upon adopting would be such as would convince that illustrious personage that their object was nothing but to pursue the ends of justice. If, therefore, the house would permit him to speak of matters originating with himself, he was prepared to say, that he had in view to bring forward a motion on a future day, which would be founded on the queen's answer to the late address of that house. He was sure the house would not wish him to go into a detail of the nature of the motion, but he would state that it would have this distinct character, it would put her majesty, the house, and the country, in possession of the whole of the evidence contained in the papers on the table relative to this matter. If the house should please, after hearing his motion, to go on to institute any proceedings in the case, without entering into a preliminary inquiry, it would have also

that characteristic so vehemently demanded, *viz.* it would be open in itself. If afterwards a *prima facie* case should be made out, and it should be thought proper to follow it up by evidence, that of course would be brought forward. He must so far revert to what had passed on this subject, as to state that the matter was at present involved in considerable awkwardness. Nothing could be more embarrassing than a judicial inquiry. He would not now look at the *prima facie* cause; but he contended, and he had the authority of Blackstone for saying so, that nothing was more difficult in itself, and nothing was more absurd than to require that two judicial inquiries on the same subject, should be carried on at the same time in the two houses of parliament. If both the committees should, as he could not for a moment doubt they would, decide that there were sufficient grounds for instituting and arranging some judicial proceedings, he entreated the house to consider of the difficulty that would exist as to where the proceedings should originate. That was the view which government had been induced to direct their proceedings upon, *viz.* that if the House of Lords took the matter up judicially, that house would necessarily wait. He wished it, therefore, to be understood, that it was necessary to name some day for his motion, sufficiently distant to give to the other house, before that day should arrive, the possibility of having framed some proceeding on this very im-



portant and grave accusation ; and which, at the same time, should not be at a period too late for the purposes of justice. In consequence of this impression, he should name Thursday se'nuight as the day on which he would be prepared to offer a motion to the house, founded on the answer of her majesty to the address of that house. He had no hesitation in saying, that he should desist from making that motion, if the House of Lords should have, in its judicial character, instituted any thing which must, in due course, come down to that house. But after waiting that reasonable length of time, he did feel that, after all that had passed—after the fact had been so broadly avowed, that the papers on the table contained matters of charge so grave against her majesty, even if the House of Lords did not institute any proceedings, he considered that he owed it to her majesty, and he trusted the house would allow him to put the charges in such a shape, that her majesty might be able to defend her own character. He had nothing further to state, but that he was ready to charge himself with the whole responsibility of originating this measure.

*Mr. Brougham* said, he concurred from the bottom of his heart in the appeal which the noble lord had just made ; and implored all sides of the house from that moment henceforth, through the whole course of the now inevitable inquiry, to let the voice of party cease, to suffer no factious,

personal, or political feelings to interfere in the prosecution of this question; in order that no shadow might be said to cross their path towards the attainment of substantial justice. On the part of her majesty he had to express the infinite satisfaction, which he knew to be the reflected image of her sentiments, on finding at length that there was some chance of her obtaining justice on constitutional principles. On finding that there was an end of that dark, inquisitorial, unconstitutional, unjust, and he would add, illegal proceeding, which it was the tendency of the green bag, accompanying the message from the throne, to institute against her. Her claim from the beginning had been for an open inquiry—her protest had been against an invisible tribunal. He had, however, not to thank the noble lord (Castlereagh) for this favourable change. He had to felicitate Parliament, the country, and herself, who had declared with one unanimous voice, that that secret trial should not take place. It seemed that the noble lord intended to propose in his motion some measure of a legislative nature to meet the inquiries of the other house. On this ground he should lay a claim to delay in behalf of her majesty. Let not the house draw from this an erroneous conclusion. He should not have ventured to make such a proposal, had not the reasons for such a claim been most just and satisfactory. The queen was anxious to proceed, and for her, and on his own account, he should deprecate all delay;



but one was rendered necessary by local distance. It was a journey of three weeks to the place of her majesty's residence, and three weeks back to bring the witnesses and evidence necessary for her defence. Should the house therefore proceed on Thursday se'nnight with the inquiry, how would her majesty be in a condition to meet it? Five or six witnesses on the side of inculpation might be examined, and all on that side of the case would be over. If this partial inquiry were open, all the country would see its nature. If it were secret it would be still worse; for a secret intrusted to twenty-one members in one house and fifteen in another, according to the common adage, had little chance of being kept. How would any man like the honour of his wife or daughter to depend on the secrecy of thirty-six gentlemen who had wives and daughters of their own, even should they be the most honourable of men? It would be impossible that some portion of the evidence adduced should not leak out of those orifices for emitting secrets which were found in every family. That evidence would issue out more or less, but its venom would circulate fully through the country. Let any man place himself in the position of her majesty—let him figure to himself the inevitable ruin of character which must ensue from this interval of three or four months before the exculpatory evidence for her majesty be produced? He therefore laid a claim to delay; but let him not be misunderstood; it was a delay

which would not retard for one hour the ultimate result.

*Colonel Palmer* had voted against the late resolution, because he thought that it called upon her majesty to do that which he would not have done himself in her place. He now conceived, that consistently with that resolution, it was the duty of the house to desist from the proposed inquiry.

*Mr. Bathurst* defended the conduct of his majesty's ministers through the whole of the present unfortunate business. He contended against the possibility of not taking some ulterior proceeding, and stated, that if a bill should be introduced, sufficient time would be given to the parties to prepare for defence ; so that when the case of the prosecution should close, that of the defendant should immediately commence.

*Mr. Western* entered his protest against the motion of the noble lord, because he conceived that its effect was to draw the house, directly or indirectly, into an approbation of those measures, and into an inquiry which the whole country, he said, had condemned, and which the general sense of the house on the first night of the discussion had decidedly condemned too. Why had the whole country expressed an opinion that the proposed inquiry was one which ought not to be gone into ? Because the noble lord, after having represented the charges as of a criminal nature, had declared that they were capable of being negotiated and settled by an amicable adjustment.

and unworthy object ; we mean for a cause not essential to our national interest, and not of sufficient importance to call for a domestic division upon it, to the ruin of our happiness and repose ; and as the queen alone stands in the way of arrangement, we say she ought to yield to the universal good, we care not whether as a martyr or a criminal." Could it be believed that this person was no other than the queen consort of England —no less than his majesty's queen. He left it to the impression and fair feeling of the house, if language like this was to be sanctioned ?

*Mr. C. Wynn*, and *Mr. Stuart Wortley*, while they admitted the embarrassed situation in which the house was placed, urged the necessity of immediate investigation.

*Mr. Hobhouse* said, it appeared to him that the queen had gained nothing by the negotiation but the means of going out of the country in a more suitable manner than she had come to it. He believed that ministers would have been glad to get her out of it on any terms. He could not understand how the green bag was to be got off the table. An honourable gentleman, on a former evening, had compared the situation of ministers to that of certain characters in the *Rehearsal* ; but the honourable member for *Bramber* and his associates, perhaps, rather resembled those in a drama founded upon it, the *Critic*, where *Lord Burleigh* says to *Mr. Puff*, " But, Sir, you have not told us how we are to get off."

—"Why, replies he, cannot you get off kneeling?" "No!" "Egad, it will have a good effect if you go off praying."

The question was loudly called for.

*Mr. Wilberforce* expressed his regret that the advice of the House of Commons had been rejected, because he was convinced that if it had been followed, her majesty's honour would have stood assured in the page of history. Before that vote was tendered, much had been already conceded to the queen in the course of this transaction. In the course of the negotiation it appeared that only two points remained unadjusted; the acknowledgment of the queen at foreign courts, and the restoration of her name to the Liturgy. The first was removed by the offer to nominate her majesty as queen to the court at which she wished to reside; and then, all that impeded the final arrangement, was the restoration to the Liturgy. Whether the name ought to have been taken out, was not to the point; for the basis of the negotiation was, that the one side was not to retract, nor the other to admit any thing. So far did the legal advisers of the queen adopt this principle, that they offered to receive an equivalent for the concession demanded, and he would ask if the House of Commons had fallen so low that its assurance of the construction put upon her majesty's yielding this matter of feeling was not a sufficient ground to satisfy all that she could have desired? It was on that ground he voted for

the proceeding, and he was sorry their hopes had been dashed to the ground.

*Mr. Denman* said that the legal advisers of the queen did not fear the charges contained in the green bag: it was only its falsehoods they dreaded, and the sole delay they required was to enable them to meet these charges satisfactorily, of which they had no doubt. They asked in the first place an open trial, and if not that, as fair a trial through the interposition of the secret committee as was possible.

The house now divided: for Lord Castlereagh's motion, 195; against it, 100. Majority for ministers, 95.

It must be allowed that the consequences of the step which the ministers were about to pursue against her majesty, were taken into due consideration by the opposition members of both houses, not only with a regard to the general interests of the country, but also to the feelings of the illustrious individual then under accusation. On Tuesday evening, Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, made, what may almost be called the last effort to stay the proceedings which were instituted against the queen, by moving, that the order for the meeting of the secret committee to consider the papers referred to their lordships be discharged. This motion gave rise to a very long debate, in which the same arguments were used by ministers as in the former debates on this momentous question,

and the motion was ultimately negatived by a majority of 102 to 47.

The only circumstance deserving of mention which took place during this debate, was the attack which Lord Holland made upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, as being the person who advised the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy. This led to an explanation on the part of the reverend lord, who said, that Lord Holland had objected to the insertion of the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the secret committee, because he was the constitutional adviser of the crown in the alteration of the Liturgy. Another noble baron, in a former conversation, had objected to the insertion of the name of that person, because he was the responsible adviser. He (the Archbishop of Canterbury) believed that neither one nor the other of the noble lords were correct. He would ask, where was their authority? Was it any statute? The only act he was acquainted with, which referred to this subject, was the Act of Uniformity. Did the noble lords find their opinions there? Certainly not. There was certainly no one who would be more disposed than he was, to relinquish his station on the committee in question, if the noble lords could point out such grounds as would be satisfactory to the house, and which would not impeach his integrity as a public or a private man.

*Lord Holland* explained, that nothing was further from his intention than to impeach the integrity of the reverend lord. But as that reverend

prelate conveyed the acts of the king, as head of the church, to the clergy of England, he considered the reverend prelate as responsible for the alteration in the Liturgy.

*Lord Liverpool* said, the alteration of the Liturgy was the act of the king's confidential servants who had advised it. The act was done in the council, and the lords of the council, who were present were, perhaps, strictly responsible; but in the practice since the revolution, the acts done in council were preceded by advice on the part of the king's confidential servants, who were thus the peculiar objects of responsibility. The archbishop merely acted ministerially, and was obliged to execute the orders in council.

Thus the public are at last informed by whom the omission of her majesty's name was advised, and it is now ascertained on whose shoulders the whole weight of that odious measure should repose; a weight which is hourly increasing from the indignation of the people, and which will one day impel them from the places which they now occupy.

In regard to the Liturgy, we now lay before our readers a letter which was written by her majesty, on her seeing from the newspapers that her name was omitted in the Liturgy; and the composition proves that it proceeded from her own feelings, and was not the result of legal opinion. It also puts to rest the charge which was brought forward by Lord Castlereagh, at the time when the negotiations were carried on, that the question of the Liturgy had been raised as an afterthought.



to throw an obstacle in the way of an amicable adjustment of the differences.

*Rome, March 16, 1820.*

The queen wishes to be informed, through the medium of Lord Liverpool, first minister to the king, for what reason or motive the queen's name is left out of the General Prayers in England, with a view to prevent all her subjects from paying her such respect as is due to her. And it is an equally great omission towards the king, that his consort queen should be obliged to submit to such great neglect, as if the archbishop was in perfect ignorance of the real existence of the Queen Caroline of England. The queen is desirous that Lord Liverpool should communicate this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Liverpool will with difficulty believe how much the queen was surprised at this first act of cruel tyranny towards her; since she had been informed through the newspapers of the 22d of February, that in the course of the debates in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh, one of his best friends, assured the queen's attorney-general, that the king's servants would not use towards the queen any inattention or harshness. And after that speech of Lord Castlereagh, the queen is surprised to find her name left out of the Liturgy, as if she no longer existed in this world. The queen trusts, before she arrives in England, these matters will be corrected, and that she will receive a satisfactory answer from Lord Liverpool.

CAROLINE, QUEEN.

Whilst these proceedings were carrying on in Parliament, the whole country rose as if actuated by one spirit of indignation, at the unjustifiable measures which had been adopted against the queen, and particularly at the manner in which it had been decided that she should be tried; meet-



ings were held in various towns, for the purpose of addressing the queen, and one of the first addresses which was presented, was from the town of Nottingham. The address itself, however, is not worthy of being recorded, the following is her majesty's answer :

I receive with cordial gratitude, the affectionate sentiments expressed in this address.

Sincerely as I must ever deplore the distresses that may fall on any of my fellow-subjects, I must decline to speculate on their probable causes, or to cast reproaches on their supposed authors. Having come to this country for my own vindication, I cannot mix political animosities with my just cause.

My fervent prayers will be constantly offered to the Throne of Mercy, for the happiness and prosperity of the whole English people ; and there is no portion of them for whom I feel a livelier interest, than the inhabitants of the ancient town and neighbourhood of Nottingham.

A general meeting of the inhabitants of York and its vicinity, was held on the 26th of June, in the Guildhall of that city, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of congratulating her majesty the queen on her accession to the throne, and on her return to this kingdom ; and of expressing their sentiments on the degrading treatment she has experienced from his majesty's ministers. There were present nearly 3,000 persons, and numbers were obliged to retire on account of the excessive heat. The address having been agreed to, was signed by the right

honourable the Lord Mayor, who presided as chairman at the meeting, and forwarded the same evening to Marmaduke Wyvill, Esq., representative of the city, with a request that he would present it to her majesty without delay.

The address was presented in course, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Inhabitants of the City of York.*

I thank you for your loyal congratulations on my accession to the throne, and on my return to England, as well as for your expressions of condolence on the severe losses, which, in common with the whole nation, I have sustained in the death of my dear and illustrious relatives. Had it pleased Providence to preserve their lives, I should not now have been exposed to the persecutions that await me, nor the country to the fatal consequences that must always follow a departure from the sacred principles of public justice. In the unequal contest against those secret advisers, who are alike the enemies of my royal consort and myself, I rely, with confidence, on the sympathy and support of every generous bosom, and feel secure that the vindication of my honour will be again complete.

Wednesday the 28th of June was a portentous day in the annals of this country, whether we regard the events of it as affecting the peace of the country, or the moral integrity of the people. The Secret Committee of the Lords upon the affairs of her majesty the queen met on that day at twelve, and proceeded to the opening of one of the most memorable depositories of accusatory

matter which was ever laid upon the table of either house of parliament. Her majesty's counsel, Messrs. Brougham and Denman attended, and put in a sealed letter, expressing the sentiments of their royal client upon the extraordinary and unprecedented proceedings which have now been commenced against her. The learned gentlemen remained in waiting a considerable time, in order to receive an answer to the letter delivered on the part of the queen, but none being returned by the committee, her majesty's counsel withdrew.

The committee first met in Lord Shaftesbury's private room, all idlers being very properly excluded from the passages. After remaining there a short time, they went to the robing room, and finally chose the old House of Lords as the most commodious apartment, and the farthest removed from interruption. The gentleman usher of the black rod and other officers of the house were stationed in various parts, and suffered no person to approach the committee room, while a number of constables were in attendance in other directions.

Previously to the committee, Lords Lansdown and Erskine were excused from the committee, at heir own request, and Lords Hardwicke and Ellenborough attended in their room.

The following reflections press themselves upon us in this stage of the proceedings. The breaking that portentous seal is the first step to a career, upon which it would not be prudent to speculate. The act reminds us of the opening of

the bags in which the adverse winds were bound by the companions of Ulysses while their master was asleep. We sincerely hope the result will be less disastrous in the present instance than in the poetic fiction. The jealous mariners expected to find a prize; a prize it was, but such a one as blew them from the dearest object of their wishes

When lo! on board a fond debate arose,  
What rare device those wond'rous bags enclose:  
'How ÆOLUS, you see, augments his store;  
'But come, my friends, these mystic gifts explore.'  
They said—and (oh, curst thought!) the thongs unbound—  
The gushing tempest sweeps the ocean round.—&c.

*Odyssey*, lib. 10.

It has been urged by many that ministers have shrunk from responsibility by the course they have latterly taken. Our opinion is wholly the contrary. They have rather increased their responsibility; for let it be granted, that upon the papers contained in the bag the committee should report a presumption of criminality, they do so upon the pledge of ministers to support the depositions by the parole evidence of the deponents. Is not this a perilous—a most precarious responsibility? Should the ministers fail to substantiate the contents of these papers, awful indeed will be their situation, politically and morally. A great difficulty exists in coming to the question of the propriety of the present course of parliamentary proceeding against the queen: not from the multitude of arguments which are opposed to us, but



from the variety of topics which have claims upon our attention. If we consider the proceeding as a measure of state, undertaken from motives of state policy, the words of the resolutions of the House of Commons meet us. If we consider it as a criminal proceeding against her majesty, [the offers to her, and the late proffered compromise, meet us. If we consider it as a civil suit, instituted by the king against the queen, many considerations press upon us, of the most alarming and important nature. If we consider the question as one of the purity and decency of public justice, the committee—its nature—its members—the evidence which it receives and rejects—all offer themselves to our notice. The question of the decency and purity of the administration of justice deserves perhaps the first place; because, although the House of Commons has already decided, if its resolutions have any meaning, that the proceeding is indefensible on the ground of state policy—though the compromise which has been attempted may defend the queen from any criminal prosecution,—though notorious facts might protect her against a divorce,—though we are confident, even if all the lies\* which Italians

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\* It was the remark of a man, who, whatever might be his private individual failings, always acted constitutionally right, "That he would not believe an Italian upon his oath." He said this upon a court-martial, where the life of the man depended on Italian evidence. The man was acquitted—the Italian disgraced. In a few years, the Italian was prosecuted for

could invent or swear to, for the highest pay, were believed against the queen, that they could not lead to divorce or punishment, unless there be one law for the high and another for the low, it would be still no small evil that she should be deprived of her character by a perversion of the forms of judicial proceedings.

We do not hesitate, therefore, to say that the responsibility of administration is great in the extreme. It is most difficult to anticipate the judgment of posterity upon a public man; yet let us hope that Lord Liverpool will not be pronounced a minister capable of any act, harsh, mean, or unprincipled. He is a man with particular individual prejudices, and moreover with the prejudices of a man of system, brought up in a political school; but on this question he has committed more than one great error. When he advised and brought down the criminatory papers, he entered the lists in a combat of passion with an irritated female; forgetting that, in such a trial, female spirit rarely is the first to be reasonable. He risked himself and his colleagues upon a fearful casualty—the substantiation of written evidence; and he not only exposed, by his secret committee,

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an offence at Minorca. He was sentenced to die. Lord Nelson questioned him as to the truth on the preceding trial. "I swore," said the Italian, "to a parcel of lies; but I swore on an English Prayer-book." The horror of Lord Nelson was great, but he had spoken. The man was forgiven, and bears the same name now as one of the queen's accusers.

the House of Peers to suspense and odium, but he departed from the constitutional usage of our ancestors, that great principle which should be as sacred in Britain as the *Nios Majorum* of ancient Rome, the reverence for which was one of the main causes of the greatness of that wonderful people, and a convicted violation of which was in their eyes absolute treason, punishable by the Tarpeian rock.

Ministers have trusted their fortunes, their fame, and character, to the throw of the dice; and for their conduct towards the queen, an indignant posterity will, perhaps, attach the foulest obloquy to their names.

In consequence of the course which the house of peers had resolved to pursue towards her majesty, she determined to relinquish her intention of visiting Drury-lane theatre, which she fixed for Wednesday the 28th, in compliance with the urgent solicitations of the manager. This prudent determination on the part of her majesty, instead of softening the asperity of the ministerial party, only increased the virulence of their attack, for they were in hopes that she would visit the theatre, and then all the hell-dogs of abuse and invective would have been let loose upon her; but she deprived them of a handle for their scurrility, and that was an offence not to be easily pardoned. A large party dined with her majesty on that day at two o'clock, which early hour for dining is her majesty's usual custom. Dr. Parr was of the party, and those measures were

into consideration, which it became necessary to adopt, in consequence of the course pursued by the House of Peers.

Although the House of Commons had paused for a time in their proceedings in the case of her majesty, for the express purpose of waiting for the report of the secret committee of the lords, yet the country was actively alive in shewing the sense which the people at large entertained of the charges which had been brought forward against the queen, and of the injury which she had sustained.

A requisition had been signed by the Livery of London, to hold a common-hall for the purpose of considering the propriety of an address from that body to her majesty, on her arrival in this country. Accordingly the Livery met on Friday the 30th June, and at one o'clock, the Lord Mayor took the chair; there being present Alderman Wood, Thorpe, Waithman, &c. and the sheriffs.

Mr. Gibson came forward to propose certain resolutions; the second only of which we shall give, as being the only one out of the usual form:

That we have beheld with grief the numerous insults and indignities that have been offered to her majesty, both at home and abroad, and lament that persons should be found with such unchristian feelings as to advise the omission of her name in the solemn services of the Church; and we have felt the highest indignation at the insulting and de-



grading propositions which were made to her majesty before her arrival in this country; and we are equally disgusted with those which have been made since her arrival, to induce her to become an exile from this land, which might afford her enemies fresh opportunities for those calumnies, which probably they never would have dared to attempt if she had remained in England.

Several members spoke, but only one (Mr. Rowcroft) against the resolutions, which were carried.

Thanks were then proposed to Mr. Alderman Wood for his conduct towards her majesty; on which, the worthy alderman expressed himself in the following manner:

He said, that if his conduct had given satisfaction to his constituents, he was happy. There were many reasons why he should remain silent, both in that place, and elsewhere; but the time would, no doubt, come when he might speak out. Not all the taunts and goadings he endured in the house, or elsewhere, had tempted him to break that silence, or violate the deep respect he owed to the illustrious lady in question. He had been grossly taunted, but he would say to his enemies, that if they had acted through their public life as disinterestedly as he had done in this instance, they would have no cause to regret. He had, he said, long known the peculiar situation of her majesty, and the measures that had been adopted to prevent her return to this country; and he was sure that no honest man in

the kingdom, knowing what he knew, would have hesitated to have acted exactly as he had done. Whether or not his conduct had been regulated by *profound and absolute wisdom*, was not for him to say, but this he would say, fearlessly, that what he had done, he had done with an upright heart; and he felt convinced, that in the end he should receive the approbation of every honourable mind in the country. He had abstained from all public dinners or meetings, because he would not be tempted to give any thing like a public opinion, and he should still abstain from expressing any opinion, except this one—that her majesty must not leave this kingdom. Speaking of the offer made to her majesty at St. Omer's, he said, that if she had so consented to compromise her honour, nothing should have induced him to vote a single shilling of the public money towards her support; and he should not hesitate to say the same thing to her majesty herself. These were his sentiments, he added, and he could enlarge upon them much further; but that was not the proper place, and he bowed, not only to his own sense of propriety, but to his feeling of respect for that illustrious lady. The worthy alderman retired, amidst general and continued cheering.

On the same day, a numerous and respectable meeting of the electors of the borough of Southwark was held at the town-hall, pursuant to a requisition sent to the high bailiff, for the purpose

of presenting an address of condolence and congratulation to her majesty.

The high bailiff having stated the object of the meeting, Mr. S. Davis moved the following resolution :

“ That a loyal address of condolence and congratulation, be presented to her majesty upon her arrival in England.”

The resolution having been put, was carried unanimously, and after some very able arguments by Mr. Calvert, Sir Robert Wilson, and other speakers, in censure of the proceedings instituted against her majesty, the meeting dispersed.

About two hours after the meeting of the Livery was over in the city, her majesty went to Guildhall, accompanied by Mr. Alderman Wood. Her majesty was received at the door by Mr. Favell, and several gentlemen of the common-council, bearing wands. Her majesty was particularly anxious to see the statue of the late king, and was accordingly led to the room where it stands. The common-council-chamber was crowded with well-dressed ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs as her majesty walked through their ranks. One lady knelt down, and ejaculated a fervent prayer for her majesty's prosperity. The queen raised her, and spoke a few words of thanks to her, in a manner that showed she was greatly affected by the incident. Her majesty was received with loud cheers by all

who had the honour to be admitted into the hall to see her pass. Her carriage was drawn by the populace, in spite of the most earnest remonstrances to the contrary.

This circumstance of the queen's visit to the city, was eagerly seized upon by the ministerial party to vent their abuse against their queen; and indeed every event, however trivial in its nature, which calls forth an expression of the public feeling, flowing with such an impetuous force in favour of the queen, is received by that party with the most marked disgust and abhorrence. They seem to be immediately afflicted with a kind of St. Vitus's dance, and they turn and twist—and jump and skip about, and make a thousand hideous grimaces at an act which an unbiassed and unprejudiced mind would look upon as one of the common actions of daily life. We should be the foremost to regret if her majesty committed any act to lower herself in the esteem of the wise, or if she rendered herself too common in the eyes of the people, and so far, caution is to be recommended. It must, however, be taken into consideration in this instance, that her majesty is actually driven into a state of publicity, by the very situation in which she is improperly placed; and it is the very acmé of illiberality in those who have so placed her, or forced her to place herself, to abuse her for that which necessarily results, from their own conduct towards her. Had she been placed, as she



ought to have been, at least till her trial, in any of the empty palaces, she would then have had grounds and gardens for walking and amusement, remote from observation; but instead of this, she is immured within the narrow space of some forty feet square, or forty by thirty, and possessing as she does light spirits, and an active frame, the only kind of exercise she can possibly take, if she must not stir out, would be running up stairs and down—but she cannot do even this without being seen and cheered by occasional passengers and loiterers. Is this her fault, we ask, or her misfortune? She certainly does right to attend to her health, and to take as much air and exercise as are necessary for its preservation, and we may add for the support of those spirits which are requisite to enable her to meet the trial to which she is doomed. If she does more, if she needlessly exposes herself to the public gaze, or studies ostentatious parade, we might address her in the words of the poet:

Had I so lavish of my presence been,  
So common hackney'd in the eyes of men,  
So stale and cheap to vulgar company;—  
Opinion, that did help me to the crown,  
Had still kept loyal to possession,  
And left me, in reputeless banishment,  
A fellow of no mark nor likelihood.  
By being seldom seen, I could not stir,  
But, like a comet, I was wonder'd at;  
That men would tell their children, 'This is he!'  
Others would say, 'Where? which is Bolingbroke?'

And then I stole all courtesy from heav'n,  
 And dress'd myself in such humility,  
 That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts,  
 Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths,  
 Even in the presence of the crowned king.  
 Thus did I keep my person fresh and new ;  
 My presence, like a robe pontifical,  
 Ne'er seen, but wonder'd at : and so my state,  
 Seldom, but sumptuous, showed like a feast ;  
 And won, by rareness, such solemnity.

On the following day, Saturday July 29th, Mr. Brougham had an audience of her majesty, to present an affectionate and loyal address from Preston, signed in a few hours by some thousands of the inhabitants.

Her majesty was most graciously pleased to receive it, and return the following answer :

I thank the good people of Preston for this mark of their regard.

My object in coming home has been the vindication of my honour ; and I shall perform this sacred duty, which I owe alike to the country and to myself, without making myself a party to the political divisions that at present exist. But I never can forget the gratitude I owe to the English nation, or cease to feel the liveliest interest in its prosperity.

In the afternoon, her majesty took an airing to Blackheath, in a private carriage. She returned through the city, and called at the shop of Mr. Alderman Waithman ; on leaving which, she was recognised by the populace, who took the horses from her carriage, and drew it themselves.

As a specimen of the manner in which these inoffensive actions of her majesty were described, and the construction which was put upon them by one of the greatest apostates to the cause of her majesty, we quote the following remarks which were promulgated to the public, on the occasion of this visit of her majesty to the shop of Alderman Waithman :

“ After remaining there a sufficient time for a mob to collect, she re-entered her carriage, amidst the noisy cheering of a number of chimney-sweeps and other dirty fellows, the very refuse of society, who being as usual provided with a rope for the purpose, dragged her along all the streets, amidst the most hideous and abhorrent howlings, and to the evident offence of all the decent and peaceable inhabitants. Either her majesty must in this course give herself up entirely to the advice of the most worthless and mischievous of men, or she cannot herself be in a proper state of mind ; and this perhaps is the most humane plea that can be urged in behalf of her extraordinary conduct. Good God ! what a disgusting and abhorrent scene does thus continue to present itself to our view. A woman—that woman a queen—that queen labouring under the imputation of heavy charges—daily dragged by the veriest rabble through the streets of the metropolis ! Is it of a Queen of England that we are compelled to write this ? Since England had a name, when was its metropolis so disgraced

before? There is, in the whole transaction, something so repulsive—so alien from all our notions of female propriety—so unlike what the sober dignity of English morals requires—so irreconcilable with all our habits, feelings, and ideas—that we cannot trust ourselves with the language which alone could adequately express our sentiments. From the repetition of such extraordinary conduct, it cannot now be said that her majesty would fain avoid such exhibitions. We have unhappily lived to see what we should have scorned the man who had told us could happen—a female—an illustrious female—a queen—daily dragged in procession through the streets of London—like a base demagogue or radical incendiary! Oh! the very idea saddens and sickens the heart! May we hope, for her own sake, that we have now witnessed the last of these afflicting scenes—as derogatory to her majesty, as they are disgraceful to the country, in which she claims the full rank and undiminished rights and privileges of the most decorous and amiable of our queens!”

From this same polluted source of vituperation issued the following truly scandalous and abominable statement :

“ England ought not to be involved in misery for an alien and unworthy object ; we mean for a cause not essential to our national interest, and not of sufficient importance to call for a domestic division upon it, to the ruin of our happiness and



repose; and, as the queen alone stands in the way of arrangement, we say she ought to yield to the universal good, we care not whether as a martyr or a criminal."

This infamous language was severely animadverted upon by Lord Nugent in the House of Commons, and he asked whether language like this was to be sanctioned. He called on his majesty's ministers, if indeed they meant to bring this question to issue by a fair, public, just, and impartial trial, to do their duty. He asked, whether the noble lord and his friends in office would allow an impression of this nature to be attempted, without instructing the Attorney-General to prosecute an attack so unwarranted and so prejudicial?

But this circumstance is particularly deserving of notice, as it nearly endangered the peace of the city; and by the very persons who were actually trembling with alarm on account of the ebullition of popular enthusiasm which manifested itself in favour of the queen. The walls of the metropolis were now posted with placards, headed in large letters, "PROPOSALS TO MURDER THE QUEEN." Large crowds were assembled to read them in different places, but the police officers tore them down almost as soon as they were posted on the walls. These placards were by the ministerial party immediately stigmatized as having been written and printed for the most diabolical purposes, although they themselves

stood acquitted of any diabolical intent, in recommending that the queen should be sacrificed, *they cared not which*, either as a martyr or a criminal. In the plenitude of their sagacity they declared, that these placards were only published with a view of inflaming the passions of the mob, but forgetting at the same time, very conveniently, that the most inflammatory language which ever issued from the press, had but a few hours before been promulgated by themselves. Such is the impartiality with which the cause of an injured queen has been investigated; and such in proportion will be the humiliation of her enemies, when in the moment of her victory over them they will be crouching at her feet, supplicating her forgiveness, and ready to emit the blackness of the venom on all those who dare henceforth asperse her character.

Her majesty having been pleased to appoint Monday the 3d of July, for receiving the addresses of the borough of Southwark and of the Common-hall, considerable crowds began to collect in Portman-street and Oxford-street, at an early hour, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of weather. The windows were crowded with well-dressed females, and rows of carriages lined the streets. A few minutes past one, the Southwark procession appeared, and was saluted with cheers by the multitude. Sir R. Wilson, in the uniform of a general officer, Mr. Calvert and the high bailiff of Southwark, in their court dresses,

with a number of gentlemen, electors of the borough, were presented to the queen, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. The following is the address, and was read to her majesty; but as the original copy had been sent to Mr. Brougham, who was indisposed in the country, she had not previously perused it, so as to be able to return a written answer. Her majesty returned a most gracious verbal answer, and promised that her written answer should be immediately sent to the electors of Southwark. The deputation then retired, and was a second time greeted by the enthusiastic cheers of the people. At the same moment, several benefit societies marched by with their flags and music. The whole scene was interesting and animated in the extreme.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

*The dutiful and loyal Address of the inhabitant Householders of the ancient Town and Borough of Southwark, in Town-hall assembled.*

May it please your majesty :

We, his majesty's faithful subjects, the inhabitant householders of the ancient town and borough of Southwark, in town-hall assembled, beg leave to offer to your majesty our most sincere and fervent congratulations on your majesty's accession to your royal title; and on your majesty's safe return to the empire in which it has been ordained by Providence that your majesty should hold so exalted a station.

In offering these congratulations to your majesty, it is in-

cumbent upon us to add the expressions of our condolence on the loss your majesty has sustained by the death of our late gracious sovereign, your majesty's steadfast friend, King George the Third, and still more, on the irreparable loss your majesty has suffered by the death of your amiable and incomparable daughter, the Princess Charlotte, on whom the hopes of the country were fixed, and in whose virtues were combined the surest safeguards for the loyalty and the liberty of a people born to freedom; and who have never abused the blessings of freedom, when fairly and constitutionally dispensed to them.

We would on no account offend, by intruding unnecessarily into the personal concerns of your majesty. Your majesty's interests, however, have become the interests of the public. We trust then, we shall be excused, as well as believed, when we take the liberty of assuring your majesty, that we have long beheld the afflictions by which your majesty has been so peculiarly oppressed, with the most genuine emotions of sympathy and grief.

In these feelings, common, with some few unimportant exceptions, to the great bulk of his majesty's subjects, we have been, in some degree, consoled, by the conviction that your majesty must have seen and known that the sufferings to which you have been exposed, and the indignities to which you have been doomed, have been in no way attributable to any want of affection, or dutiful consideration, towards your majesty, on the part of the British nation.

But, of all the consolations which, under such circumstances, we could have received, one of the greatest has been afforded to us, by the courage, the fortitude, and the magnanimity, with which your majesty has opposed yourself, in person, to measures which threatened, if not the destruction of your majesty's life, the destruction, at least,

of your majesty's privileges and reputation. The extraordinary vigour of your majesty's conduct, has not only commanded the respect, the admiration, and the confidence of every liberal and enlightened mind; but it has raised, we trust, an invincible barrier against the enemies of your majesty's peace and honour; and has secured the transmission of your majesty's name to futurity, unsullied by the defilements which malevolence and servility might have attempted to attach to it.

That the advantages your majesty has acquired by this wise and dignified course of proceeding, may not be impaired by needless, or insidious negotiations;—that your majesty's character and rights may be established on the plain and common-sense grounds, which are evidently those of your majesty's choice, and not be frittered away by verbal subtleties, and refinements, beyond the scope of popular comprehension;—that your majesty, by continuing to dwell among us, may not only long reign in our hearts, but be an eye-witness and a personal partaker of the joys with which (as it has been confessed even by one of the king's ministers) your majesty's presence is calculated to inspire us:—that your majesty, in few words, may possess, during the remainder of your valuable life, such securities for happiness as may, in some measure, atone for the unmerited ills of days gone by;—these, may it please your majesty, are the objects earnestly wished and devoutly prayed for by the millions of friends and of advocates by whom your majesty is at this moment surrounded; and by no part of the British community more ardently, than by the inhabitants of that large and respectable district of the metropolis, who now presume to lay at your majesty's feet this humble testimony of their fidelity, their regard, and their veneration.

The Lord Mayor and the other city authorities,

shortly after two, appeared with the address of the Common-hall, which was read to her majesty as follows :

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common-hall assembled.*

May it please your Majesty,

We, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common-hall assembled, humbly approach your majesty with our warmest congratulations upon your majesty's safe return to this kingdom.

We sincerely condole with your majesty upon the loss of so many illustrious personages of your royal house, particularly that of your majesty's guardian and protector, our late revered sovereign, and your amiable and beloved daughter, the Princess Charlotte, upon whom the hopes of the nation had fondly rested.

We have beheld with grief the numerous insults and indignities which have been offered to your majesty, both at home and abroad, and lament that any persons should be found with such unchristian feelings as to advise the omission of your majesty's name in the solemn services of the church.

As we have before congratulated your majesty upon your complete triumph over a foul conspiracy against your life and honour, we have never ceased to feel the most anxious solicitude for every thing connected with your peace and happiness, and sincerely trust your majesty will prove equally triumphant over the renewed attempts to vilify your character.

We have felt, in common with all his majesty's subjects,

the highest indignation at the insulting and degrading proposals which were made to your majesty previous to your arrival in this country.

We admire the prompt refusal of your majesty to compromise your honour for a pecuniary consideration; nor can we forbear expressing equal admiration at the magnanimous and decisive conduct your majesty has displayed, by your unhesitating confidence in the loyalty and honour of the British nation, as well as the courage you have evinced in boldly meeting your accusers, protesting against all secret investigations, and demanding an open and constitutional tribunal.

We felt disgusted at the proposal made to your majesty to become an exile from this land, which might afford your majesty's enemies fresh opportunity for the calumnies which probably they never would have dared to attempt, if your majesty had remained in England.

We sincerely hope that your majesty will be established in the full possession of all your just rights, and reside amongst a people zealously attached to the house of Brunswick, and who feel deeply interested in every thing connected with the honour of that house, and with the welfare and happiness of your majesty.

Her majesty then returned the following answer :

It is with peculiar satisfaction, and with most cordial thanks, that I receive this loyal and affectionate address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, whose manly support of my cause upon a former occasion, has never ceased to live in my grateful remembrance.

No words can give utterance to the agonies of my heart, occasioned by those losses on which you offer me your kind condolence, and which admit of no reparation on this

side the grave ; but, in the many and deep sorrows and afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the zealous and constant attachment of this warm-hearted, just, and generous people ; to live at home with, and to cherish whom, will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days.

The indignation which a long series of persecutions, plots, and conspiracies, carried on against my peace, honour, and life, is so well calculated to excite, it shall be my endeavour to suppress ; and while I steadily pursue the means necessary to the full possession of all my rights, privileges, and dignities, I would fain bury past injuries and insults in total oblivion.

Conscious of my innocence, disdaining the threats intended to awe me, knowing that it was to Britain I was coming, it required no extraordinary degree of courage to place me in the face of my accusers. To have acted upon this or upon any other occasion a pusillanimous part, would ill become a daughter of the house of Brunswick and the queen of a nation famed for its valour in all ages, and whose gallant sailors and soldiers have so recently been crowned with laurels in every part of the globe.

This answer her majesty delivered in the most feeling manner, and it made the deepest impression on the hearers.

The reply of her majesty to the address of the city of London will resound from one end of Europe to the other. The last sentence above all will excite the warmest emotions. Is there the abatement of one jot of heart or hope in this masculine composition ? Quite the reverse ; her views enlarge—her resolution is invigorated—her



indignation more fervent, as the hand of power seems or threatens to bear yet more heavily upon her. From the reply to the city, it was first learned that it will henceforth be her majesty's "chief happiness to spend the remainder of her days at home, among this warm-hearted, just, and generous people." After the publication of the charges, indeed her majesty cannot retire; if there were before need of firmness, then will the most undaunted intrepidity be necessary—thus, there must be no fluctuating, no symptom of fear, or inward misgiving. The die will be cast—one look back would give her persecutors incalculable advantages—her courage, and her courage alone can save her.

We now turn from the official to the incidental proceedings which have reference to her majesty. Finding that the residence which she at this time occupied was neither consistent with her rank, nor attended with those conveniencies which she had a right to enjoy, she applied to Lord Liverpool for a suitable residence. His lordship hereupon wished her majesty to name some house; under the supposition, therefore, that the mansion at the top of Stratford-place, which had been occupied by foreign princes, belonged to Government, her majesty fixed upon it, imagining also that the assignment of it would put the country to no expense. Lord Liverpool replied, that the house in question had ceased to belong to Government, and requested her ma-

jesty to name another. Her majesty, however, saw through the art of the wily statesman, and she was, in her own mind, so convinced that had she fixed upon any other house, that it would be discovered that it either did not belong to Government, or that if it did belong to Government, some excuse would be ready at hand to refuse it to her, that she did not condescend to make another request. It would have been curious to know the reason why Hampton-court could not be granted to her majesty—at all events, if the true reason had been stated to the public, it would have involved a distinguished individual, who at present has not appeared in the arena of this extraordinary contest.

On Sunday, the 2d of July, Sir William Grant had two interviews on the part of her majesty, with Mr. Canning on the part of ministers, but nothing was effected towards an adjustment of the grand differences.

On Tuesday, at one o'clock, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held in Covent-garden, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of addressing her majesty, on her return to England.

The high bailiff, (Arthur Morris, Esq.,) who presided, shortly addressed the meeting, and stated, that one of the reasons why he had not convened it sooner was, that he was afraid lest, as negotiations were at that time pending between her majesty and the king's ministers, it should

prove an obstacle to an amicable arrangement. He could assure them, that he had not been influenced by Lord Sidmouth in the reluctance which he then had to convene the meeting, but had acted entirely from his own sense of duty. Indeed, he never had, and he never would, consult that noble lord regarding what he ought to do when a requisition was presented to him from the inhabitants of Westminster. He then read the requisition on which he had convened the present meeting, and requested their attention to the subject of it.

Mr. Thelwall then came forward, and, after a short speech, proposed five resolutions, the last of which was, "that an address to her majesty be adopted by this meeting."

Mr. O'Callaghan seconded the resolutions.

The High Bailiff then put them to the meeting, and they were agreed to unanimously.

The report of the secret committee was presented on Tuesday, July 4th, to the House of Lords, and as it might be anticipated, charged the queen with offences of the highest magnitude. It accused her majesty of having formed an intimacy of a most criminal nature with a foreigner, who had filled the situation of a servant in her own household; and further alleged, upon the authority of the papers contained in the green bag, that her majesty's conduct had in other instances been marked by circumstances of a licentious nature, unbecoming her rank and station.

Previously, however, to entering into any disquisition on the merits of this celebrated report, we will lay a correct copy of it before our readers, with a condensed account of the parliamentary proceedings consequent upon it.

REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

*The Earl of Harrowby* begged leave to lay on the table the report of the secret committee, to whom the papers connected with his majesty's message had been referred, and moved that the same be now read.

The clerk read the report, which was as follows :

“ By the lords' committee, appointed a secret committee to examine the papers laid before the House of Lords on Tuesday, the 6th of June last, in two sealed bags, by his majesty's command, and to report thereupon, as they shall see fit, and to whom have been since referred several additional papers, in two sealed bags, relative to the subject matter of his majesty's most gracious message of the 6th June. Ordered to report.

“ That the committee have examined, with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents which have been laid before them, and they find that those documents contain allegations supported by the concurrent testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of

the queen, charging her majesty with an adulterous connexion with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity; and attributing to her majesty a continued series of conduct highly unbecoming her majesty's rank and station, and of the most licentious character.

"These charges appear to the committee so deeply to affect not only the honour of the queen, but also the dignity of the crown and the moral feelings and honour of the country, that in their opinion it is indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry; which it appears to the committee may be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which they cannot but most deeply deplore."

*The Earl of Liverpool*, in consequence of the recommendation of the committee, would tomorrow introduce a bill relative to the subject matter of the report. With respect to the course of proceeding which it might be thought fit to adopt, he should be disposed to consult the convenience of the illustrious person who was the object of the charge.

*Earl Grey* would, in the present situation of the proceedings, abstain from saying much that occurred to him upon this most important subject, the difficulty and danger to be apprehended from which was, in his opinion, increased in an immense degree, by the reading of the report now on the table. When he before objected to the

course which the noble lords opposite proposed to pursue, he stated then, and he now repeated, that his only object was to obtain for the parties concerned, strict and impartial justice. He had now again to enter his protest against the injustice of a proceeding which did not leave the case of the person accused in an unprejudiced state. The charges now made were not merely brought forward by the ministers of the crown, but came before their lordships through the medium of a committee of their lordship's house. It was, therefore, important that their lordships should consider the situation in which they were placed. A charge of a more abhorrent nature never could be made against any individual, to say nothing of its being brought against a queen. If this charge rested upon evidence which could be supported, it certainly formed a case for indispensable inquiry and he agreed that it was for the honour of the crown, and the welfare of the country, that the inquiry should proceed in the way calculated to secure the honour and interests of both. But by whom were their lordships told that the evidence could be supported? By those ministers who were willing to continue her majesty in the character of queen—to make arrangements for her introduction to foreign courts—and to recommend their ambassadors to pay respect to her. They (the ministers) now told their lordships that the queen was a person liable to imputations of the most abhorrent nature. They had permitted this

conduct to go on for years, and now they brought forward the charge with the greatest haste, leaving it suspended to agitate the country, and thus compromising not only the dignity of the throne, but the safety of the state. Her majesty, now standing under a charge proceeding from such authority, was placed in a situation that no one before her ever stood in. It appeared to be thought that it would be necessary to suspend the charge, in order to allow time for the defence, but he did not think that her majesty would lose any thing by the inquiry proceeding immediately ; for she must sustain more injury from the circumstance of this report being promulgated to the world, than she could gain advantage from any delay for procuring evidence. As the case now stood, she had no means of knowing the characters of the witnesses that were to be brought against her ; even the name of the menial servant with whom the adulterous intercourse was said to have taken place, was not mentioned. In this situation the charge was to stand against her for three months ; and then, perhaps she would have, after all, to meet the investigation with very imperfect means of defence. He thought that justice required that her majesty should be forthwith furnished by ministers with a distinct statement of the charges, and a list of the witnesses on whose authority they were made.

*The Earl of Harrowby* thought that the noble lord might have abstained from saying any thing,

until his noble friend had had the opportunity of explaining the course of proceeding which he thought should be adopted. He could assure their lordships that he as deeply regretted the necessity of the proceeding, and as anxiously desired to avoid agitating the public mind, as the noble lord or any other person; but he thought it requisite to make one or two observations on what had fallen from the noble earl. He had accused his majesty's government with having committed a great act of injustice by the course which had been pursued. If that course was injustice, their lordships were completely accomplices in it.

*The Earl of Darnley* was afraid that nothing but mischief could result from the paper laid on the table, and sincerely wished that the proceedings had been avoided. He had before alluded to the measure of the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, the injustice of which was so glaring. After her majesty had been prayed for during twenty-five years as Princess of Wales, the refusing to pray for her as queen was quite unaccountable. How did it happen that she, who was worthy to be prayed for on the 29th of January, became all at once an unworthy object on the 30th, the very next day? The conduct of ministers in this respect, could not be exculpated.

*Earl Grey*, in explanation, remarked, that if his majesty's ministers had before them evidence



of the queen having been guilty of an adulterous intercourse with a foreigner, they ought not to have softened it down into family differences, and offered to compromise it by an allowance of 50,000*l* a year taken from the pockets of the people.

*The Earl of Liverpool* said, the doctrine advanced by him was, that ministers had finally seen the queen's conduct in a different light from what they did at the commencement, because they now advised inquiry, whereas, they formerly showed a willingness to compromise. Now he (*Lord Liverpool*) had not the least difficulty in maintaining that, even on the assumption of the possibility of proving every charge against the queen which had been made, his majesty's ministers had done right in offering to agree to an adjustment without a trial. He would say, that had she remained abroad, the evils attending a compromise, would not have been so great as those that might be anticipated from instituting proceedings against her; and he entertained this opinion in common with 99 out of 100 of the nation. Undoubtedly it might be said, that, if charges existed, they ought to be proved or dispelled. This, as a general maxim, might be correct; but circumstances might be such as to render the application of it to certain cases highly inexpedient. Whether the steps they had taken to prevent inquiry were prudent or no, was a different question; but when the queen

came to the country—when her conduct was forced upon public attention—when no medium was left between admitting her to the exercise of all her rights and privileges, and allowing her full influence on the morals of the country, and proceeding against her, supposing the charges to be true, they were compelled to bring them forward. Great as the evil on this latter supposition was, it appeared to them to be the least.

*The Marquis of Buckingham* agreed in the necessity of pursuing the inquiry, as all attempts at compromise had proved unavailing.

*Lord Holland* remarked, that the noble earl (Liverpool) had stated in loud and lofty language, that he had his reasons for believing that inquiry, which was not necessary if her majesty had remained out of England, became necessary as soon as she returned; but he had not specified those reasons. He merely gave his opinion without producing any grounds for it; and he had forgotten that her majesty was not only to escape a trial if she remained abroad, but was to receive 50,000*l.* a year. The feelings of the country might have been interested in this question; but was that interest diminished by the presence of her majesty in England? The noble earl had alleged that ministers were driven to the course which they had adopted, but he had not explained why they were so driven. The course of these proceedings was from the beginning

wrong—highly inconsistent—highly dangerous—derogatory from the honour of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country.

We shall be brief in our remarks on this unexampled report, in order to proceed to more important and weighty matter; but, we submit the few following reflections to the unprejudiced part of the community, and in so doing, we acquit ourselves of all direct partiality to either side of the question. In this report the committee say, that they have examined with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents which have been laid before them; and, they find that these documents contain allegations, supported by the concurring testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of the queen, charging her majesty with an adulterous connexion with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity.

This report will not, we believe, surprize one individual in the country who has bestowed a moment's reflection on the subject. Every one knew that the committee had only *ex parte* statements before them, and that ministers having made up their own minds to bring forward charges against her majesty, would not be guilty of such egregious imbecility as not to lay at least a plausible statement before the committee. The report is, therefore, necessarily neither more nor less than an echo of the substance of the state-

ments laid before the committee by the ministers of the Crown. This is the impression which the report ought to produce. When her majesty, then Princess of Wales, was first delivered over to the vigilance of spies and the persecution of foes, the accusations brought forward against her, though they were only made the object of a private investigation, were far more numerous and explicit in their nature. She was then charged, not with an adulterous intercourse with a nameless foreigner, but with distinct acts of adultery with various well-known and specified persons. Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith were amongst the number; and, not only was the crime of adultery laid against her, but it was attempted to be proved that it had been followed by pregnancy, and the birth of a child. Neither did these momentous charges rest on the authority of foreigners alone. The witnesses examined were of a rank and respectability in life which entitled them to much consideration. What fell from Sir John and Lady Douglas, could not fail to produce more impression than the fabrications of discarded servants or needy adventurers; yet under all those circumstances her royal highness was fully acquitted of all criminality, and her innocence was solemnly recognised by the country. If the fearful influence of Government was so powerfully exercised when she was only to be neglected, what would be its operation, when it is put to its full exertion on her being put upon

her trial, and her condemnation loudly called for. We trust, however, that this tremendous arm will not be employed, for what innocence could contend with its might. In the meantime, however, we feel confident that if her majesty be allowed the same fair and full means of defence which she possessed in 1807, she will emerge as pure and brilliant from the fiery ordeal as she did at that period, when the whole country rejoiced at her innocence, and none but her enemies were confounded.

On the evening of the day that the report of the secret committee was made, the queen took an airing for several miles along the western-road, in a chariot and pair. The Princess Sophia also rode out along the same road, in a coach and four with outriders. The illustrious ladies met near Kensington-gate, but not the slightest recognition took place between them. The queen's carriage, however, was at the moment attended by a number of persons from Kensington, who expressed much clamorous disapprobation towards the princess; at the same time peremptorily ordering her servants to take off their hats. The mandate was not obeyed, and a momentary confusion ensued; but the whips of the respective drivers, and the mettle of the horses, soon put an end to it, by whirling the the carriages away, in different directions, almost at full speed.

On Wednesday, July 5, Lord Liverpool brought

in his bill of which he had given notice on the preceding evening. It was a bill of degradation and divorce—a fearful formula for a woman and a queen to encounter. Previously, however, to the order of the day being read, Lord Dacre rose and observed, that he held in his hand a petition, which had just been handed to him from her majesty the queen, who, being informed of the extraordinary course the House of Lords had taken yesterday, stated that she had various weighty matters to urge before the house, which were necessary to be urged in the present stage, and desiring to be heard this evening by counsel at the bar. Although he was ignorant of the nature and weight of that information which her majesty was urgent to communicate to the House, and could not decide how far it might induce their lordships to wave their prescribed course, it ill became him, he conceived, to decline the duty of presenting it; and when her majesty now stated that the acceding to her prayer was necessary for her further defence, he trusted that their lordships would listen to her solicitation. Such communications might also tend to accelerate the proceedings by counsel at their lordships' bar.

His lordship then presented the petition from the queen, which, on his motion, was read by the clerk:

*The humble Petition of the Queen to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

The queen, observing the most extraordinary course that has been adopted by the noble lords in the secret committee

assembled, begs to state to the house, that she is perfectly ready at this moment to enter upon her defence on the charges against her, as far as she can understand them, and she begs to remind your lordships, that as it will be absolutely necessary for her to have certain witnesses for her future defence, she begs to have the nature of the charges against her distinctly stated in the present stage of the proceedings; and she further prays that, as it is important to her interests to make some statements on the present occasion, that she may be heard by her counsel at the bar this evening.

Lord Dacre moved that her majesty be now heard by her counsel.

The Earl of Liverpool : My lords, I must say that her majesty the queen has been ill-advised in presenting this petition, though I by no means mean to object to its being received. It appears to me, however, that there is, in point of fact, no proceeding at the present moment before the house to which this petition can properly apply, as in a parliamentary sense, her majesty cannot be supposed to know any thing of the report of the secret committee, whilst the bill of which I had the honour of giving notice, is not yet presented. When that bill is on your lordships table, a copy of it will be furnished to her majesty, and her majesty's convenience will of course be consulted as to time with regard to whatever evidence she may think it necessary to adduce to rebut the charges against her. At the present moment, it does not appear to me that there is, in point of fact, any stage of proceeding to which the petition of her majesty can apply.

Lord Dacre, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdown, and Lord Holland, contended, that there were circumstances peculiar to this case, which removed it from all ordinary rules, and that an infraction of their practice might be conceded on an occasion like the present. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough replied. The question for proceeding to call in counsel was then put, and negatived without a division.

This discussion being closed, Lord Liverpool brought in his Bill of Pains and Penalties; he declared, that if he had now to retrace the steps he had taken, he knew not how he could move in any other course than that which had been decided on. From the fairness of the mode of trial in that house, and the power their lordships had to examine evidence on oath at their bar, he conceived there was a greater chance that substantial justice would be done between the parties there than in the House of Commons. He might state farther, that though this could not be considered a bill of divorce in the common and ordinary sense of the word, still its effect would be the same. The king and queen did not come before them as individuals; it was a question between the accused party, in her capacity of queen, and the state itself. Yet as it must necessarily relate, in some degree, to the marriage-contract between the king and the queen, it was on that ground more consistent with the dignity of the parties that it should come there, than be brought in the



first instance before the other house of parliament. The only question that remained was, whether this bill should have been brought in originally under the responsibility of the executive government, or whether it was not more proper to submit the documents in the first instance to a secret committee. He had reconsidered this question ; he had reconsidered it with reference to principle and to precedent ; and he had no hesitation in saying that, with reference to either, he thought the course adopted by their lordships was the just one. He would venture to say, that there could be found no instance where measures of this kind were adopted without previous inquiry. As to the more immediate proceedings, he wished a copy of the bill to be forwarded in the most respectful manner to each of the illustrious individuals concerned. The next question would be whether their lordships would fix a period for the second reading now, or postpone the determination on that point for two or three days, in order to learn what the wishes of the illustrious individuals on the subject were. If he were called on to name a day, he would propose the second reading for that day fortnight, as a proper and reasonable time for a measure of this description ; and during that period their lordships would have an opportunity of considering what their future course of proceeding should be. On this occasion he wished only to move that copies of the bill should be sent to their majesties. He could

then wish that the house should meet on Monday next, in order to name a day for the second reading, which might then be fixed for Friday fortnight. He trusted that the administration would be found to act on this occasion with the utmost calmness and deliberation. It was a most important question, and called for dispassionate inquiry. It would be his endeavour, and he was sure it would be the endeavour of all their lordships, to discharge their duty firmly, but with all due lenity and mildness towards the illustrious person whose conduct had been brought under consideration. It was most satisfactory to reflect that the country had no precedents of a case similar to the present, during a period of two hundred years, except in the instance of one individual, who never came over to this country. There had not been a queen in this country during that time against whom even a whisper of shame had been raised to affect her character or sully her reputation. He felt that he, in common with their lordships, was placed in a situation in which they had no alternative : the question now was, if those allegations were proved to be true, whether impunity should be extended to guilt, or justice should be suffered to triumph. Nothing now remained for their lordships to do, but to pursue a clear and straightforward course—to perform their duty boldly—determined, whatever public clamours might exist, to take care that public justice was satisfied.

The clerk then read the bill, in substance as follows:—

*An Act, entitled an Act for depriving Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Queen of Great Britain, of and from the stile and title of Queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, and immunities now belonging to her as Queen Consort.*

Whereas, in the year 1814, her majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, but now Queen of England, being at the court of Milan, engaged in her service one Bartholomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low situation in life, and afterwards the most unbecoming and indecent familiarities took place between her royal highness and the said Bartolomo; and her royal highness not only advanced him to a high situation in her household, but received also many of his relatives into her service in inferior and other situations, and bestowed on him the said Bartolomo various marks of distinction and favour, and took upon herself to confer upon him the Order of Knighthood, and pretended to institute an Order of Knighthood, without the authority of your majesty, and conducted herself both in public and in private in various places, with indecent and offensive familiarities and freedom towards the said Bartolomo, and carried on with him a disgraceful, licentious, and adulterous intercourse, to the great scandal of your majesty's royal family, and to the dishonour of the kingdom, and manifested a most scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct towards the said Bartolomo. We, therefore, the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, humbly pray your majesty that it may be enacted, and be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be wholly deprived of and from the stile and title of queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, privileges, and immunities now belong-

ing to her as queen consort, and that she shall and may be, from and after the passing of this act, for ever displaced from, and be utterly incapable of, exercising or enjoying the same, and that the said marriage between his majesty the king and the queen be, and the same is hereby wholly dissolved and annulled, to all intents and purposes."

*The Earl of Liverpool* moved, *seriatim*, "That copies of the said bill be presented to his majesty, to her majesty, to the king's attorney-general, and to the queen's attorney-general;" which motions were agreed to.

*Earl Grey* objected to the manner in which this bill was drawn up. Instead of stating accusations generally, without any specification of time or place, he thought that the time and place where those acts of criminality were supposed to have been committed should have been distinctly stated, to enable her majesty to meet the accusation fully. The general statement contained in the preamble of this bill merely set forth that her majesty had indulged in vices of a low description: no certain period of time was attached to this accusation, by which her majesty might be enabled to prepare for her defence. He hoped the noble earl would answer these two questions: first, whether any more particular specification of the offences stated by the committee would be laid before the house? and next, whether it was intended to give to her majesty a list of the witnesses by whom she was accused?

*The Earl of Liverpool* said, the delivery of the names of witnesses was unprecedented in parliamentary proceeding. When the case for the prosecution had closed, and the allegations were to be disproved at the bar of that house, then any time which her majesty might think proper should be afforded to enable her to rebut the evidence adduced against her.

On the following day, at twelve o'clock, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt waited upon her majesty, with the bill presented the evening before to the House of Lords, by command of their lordships. Her majesty came into the room, and received the bill, with great calmness and apparent temper. The words which she used were not distinctly understood, or have not been accurately conveyed. They were in substance or sound like the following:—"I am sorry that it comes so late, as twenty-five years ago it might have been of some use to his majesty;" (indicating, probably, that it might have tended to set aside her daughter's claim to the throne.) What followed was more audible:—"But, as we shall not meet in this world, I hope we shall in the next," (pointing her hand towards Heaven, and then adding, with great emphasis) "where justice will be rendered me." She requested Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, if he had an opportunity, to convey these sentiments to his majesty. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt is said to have been much

affected on delivering the message to the queen. He had not seen her majesty since she was living in the king's house.

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt had scarcely taken his departure, when the High Bailiff of Westminster, with Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, waited on her majesty with the Westminster address, to which her majesty returned the following most gracious answer :

This address from the inhabitant householders of the city and liberty of Westminster, will be long treasured in my memory, as an indubitable proof of their regard, and a lasting claim upon my gratitude. The language of affection for my person, of devotion to my interest, and of zeal in my cause, which appears to issue from their hearts, has made a deep impression upon my own. In the feeling manner in which they mention *Her*, for whom the invisible sigh of grief, will never cease in my maternal breast, I cannot be insensible to the homage which they pay to her memory, and to the solace which they offer to my regrets.

It is now seven years since I received an address from the inhabitant householders of Westminster, in which they congratulated me upon my escape from what they truly described as a nefarious conspiracy against my honour and my life. Upon that occasion my character was exonerated from the load of calumny with which it had been oppressed, though my conduct had undergone only an *ex-parte* examination, and though I had no means of facing my accusers, or of being heard in my defence.

The people of England then, almost universally expressed their approbation of what they considered as the triumph of rectitude and innocence over perfidy and

falsehood.—From that hour to the present, I have been the victim of a similar conspiracy, which has been incited by the same motives, and prosecuted with the same views; though with increased violence, and with aggravated malignity. New and more appalling efforts have been made to destroy that character, which had resisted so many former attempts; but, I rejoice that I now find, as I, at that time, found, the people of Westminster, uninfluenced by the powerful machinations of my enemies, and animated by the same sentiment, which they then expressed, that every subject, until convicted of guilt, had an undoubted right to retain the reputation, the rights and immunities of innocence.

In the present perilous crisis of my fate, I am supported by that courage which arises from the consciousness of rectitude; and I feel that the English people will never suffer an injured queen to appeal in vain either to their justice or to their humanity. I am convinced that, in this land of liberty, no oppression can be practised, and that to be upright is to be secure.

In the warm desire which the people of Westminster have expressed for the consideration of my honour, they have exhibited a striking testimony of their loyalty to the king; for the honour of his majesty must for ever be identified with that of his queen.

My first wish is to prove, that my character has been unjustly traduced; my next is to terminate my days among the high-minded people of this country, to whose affectionate sympathy I am, at present, indebted for so much of the cheerfulness which I feel, and of the support which I possess, under the pressure of such complicated wrongs, and such accumulated persecutions.

Soon after the departure of the Westminster deputation, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, Mr.

Williams, Mr. Brougham, jun., and Mr. S. Whitbread arrived, and had an audience of her majesty, which lasted about half an hour.

In the evening her majesty took her accustomed carriage airing.

Her majesty's petition to the House of Lords not having been received on account of its informality, another was presented by Lord Dacre on the following evening, who said, that in consequence of what took place on the preceding evening on the subject of the petition then presented on the part of her majesty, he held in his hand another petition from the same illustrious personage, which proceeded nearly on similar grounds, but prayed also that her majesty may be heard by her counsel against the bill now pending in their lordships' house. The noble lord then handed in the petition, which was read by the clerk, and appeared as follows :

CAROLINE, REGINA.—The queen has heard, with inexpressible astonishment, of the proceedings of the House of Lords—proceedings which have in view the dissolving of her privileges, and founded upon the report of a secret committee, before whom she had no counsel to assert her rights, and who have proceeded entirely on written papers, and by whom no witnesses have been examined. She further learns, with surprise and regret, that her counsel were last night refused a hearing at the bar of the House of Lords; and further, that a list of the witnesses, on a future occasion to be produced against her, has been refused to her. Under such circumstances, her majesty doubts whether she can do more than make her most solemn protest against the whole of



such proceedings. Still, however, she relies on the justice of your lordships, and still prays that her counsel may be heard at your bar to state her claims.

After some conversation, it was agreed that her majesty's counsel should be called in.

*Mr. Brougham* stated that her majesty had last night, to her great surprise, been served with an official copy of a bill presented to and read the first time in their lordships' house. The preamble to that bill contained charges of a most grave and serious nature against her majesty—against the illustrious personage for whom he appeared. Her majesty's objection was to the situation in which such a proceeding of the house unexpectedly placed her. She also wished to be heard with respect to the mode of proceeding as well as to the time. The proceedings, as the case now stood, may be either gone into entirely, or only in part, which consideration may obviously operate as a very serious disadvantage to her majesty. Her majesty was also desirous of being heard with respect to certain matters which she thought well calculated to produce an important effect. On these she conceived the present was the time on which, with ordinary fairness to herself, their lordships could be addressed; and she wished that the attention of the house could be called generally to them. Their lordships' rejection of the prayer of the petition of yesterday to be heard before the bill was read the first time, was a serious disadvantage to her. They

were also told of things happening in a certain quarter, of which they were held to know no more than if they never existed, and of course they knew regularly no more of the report of the secret committee, except from its being printed in every newspaper, though for aught they knew it might be a fabrication, and a gross libel upon the committee itself, and that those who circulated such reports were deserving of punishment. In fact, the report went farther than the bill. Upon the former there was much matter which would not be confirmed by the passing of the bill, or negatived by its rejection. These were the only points upon which he had received instructions.

*Mr. Denman* followed, and supported the arguments advanced by *Mr. Brougham*.

*Lord Liverpool* said, he had distinctly stated that on Monday the 17th he should propose the day which he should deem proper for the second reading of the bill; that course he still meant should be pursued, and he trusted a full attendance would take place.

On the same evening, *Sir Ronald Ferguson* brought forward, in the House of Commons, his promised motion respecting the Milan Commission; when he stated that he did not believe that that commission, or the plan of getting up that bag, originated with ministers; the merit of that invention must be given to another person, a person of high station. It would be unfair not to

name him—he meant the Vice-Chancellor. He spoke from what he had heard, if he were wrong, he would, for the sake of the character of that learned person, be most happy to receive a complete contradiction. It was said that the Vice-Chancellor had been at great pains in promoting the object of the commission; he was at the head of it, and he recommended a gentleman to act on that honourable occasion, who had been long, and he believed successfully, engaged with him at the bar.. As to the expense of the commissioners, he would be glad to be set right if he were wrong, but he did understand that the expense amounted to no less than 33,000*l.*; that for the five first months, no less than 11,000*l.* were drawn by these commissioners. He (Sir R.) would engage to say, that in Italy, with one half of that sum, he could get blasted the character of every man and woman in England. Affidavits were brought from the most mean and rascally of mankind to degrade her majesty without trial. He would call it degradation; and surely the bill recently introduced to hang over the head of her majesty, was not, and never could be, called an act of justice. He concluded by moving an address to his majesty, praying that he would be pleased to give directions to have laid before that house copies of any commission or commissions, instruction or instructions, issued by his majesty's commands, since the departure of the queen from this country in the year 1814, for the purpose of taking

depositions, or making inquiries relating to her majesty during her residence abroad; and also for an account of all sums expended on this commission, and by whom were such sums respectively issued.

*Lord Castlereagh* moved the previous question, and it was carried without a division.

Whilst these interesting proceedings were carrying on in the houses of parliament, the people manifested an almost enthusiastic attachment to the queen, and the most fervent interest in her cause. But it was not only in the metropolis, but in all parts of the country, that the same enthusiasm prevailed; and a most striking proof of the general sense of the people was manifested on the arrival of some Italians at Dover, who were known to have come to this country for the purpose of swearing against the queen. It was on Friday the 7th, that the Italians arrived at Dover, eleven men and one woman, and to all appearance of the very lowest class. Their object in coming to this country was immediately discovered by the people, and roused, as it could not fail to do among Englishmen, the liveliest feeling of indignation against them through the whole town. While they were in the Custom-house, having their luggage examined, a large crowd, consisting of men, women, and children, collected in front of it; on their coming out they fell upon them, and beat them most unmercifully, venting, all the while, the deepest execrations against them, and

the profligate purpose for which they had dared to land in England. It was observable that the women took the most violent part in thus summarily dispensing justice on these foreign mercenaries. The coach, which had been ordered to convey the Italians to London, stopped for two hours after its usual time of departure; but the crowd was great, and continued to exhibit such strong feelings of indignation towards these miserable creatures, that it was obliged to leave Dover without them. The magistrates then called out the civil power, and proceeded to disperse the people, which they succeeded in accomplishing in little more than an hour. The Italians afterwards left the town by stealth, and proceeded to London by the bye-road, through Folkstone, Maidstone, &c One of them was said to have suffered most severely.

For some time the most active preparations had been making for the celebration of his majesty's coronation, and immense sums had been already expended. The sense of the nation was, however, against the ceremony taking place during the proceedings against the queen, and Colonel Beaumont, on the 25th, gave notice of an address to his majesty, praying that the coronation might be suspended until the termination of the proceedings now pending against her majesty.

*Lord Castlereagh* said, the motion was unnecessary, because his majesty had already signified his intention that the ceremony of the royal coro-

nation should not take place on the day originally named, nor was any other day fixed for that purpose. This postponement was not, however, in consequence of any proceedings respecting her majesty. Those proceedings, he might add, would be carried on with as little delay as justice would admit.

The ministerial papers put forth their strength to convince the English people, that this postponement of the coronation had no reference whatever to the proceedings against the queen, but that it had its cause in the impossibility of completing the preparations by the time originally appointed for the ceremony taking place. There was a time when the English people had so much confidence in the ministers of the country, as to give credit to their assertions, but that time is past, and all the shifting of my Lord Castlereagh, nor all the smooth and oily eloquence of his coadjutor, Mr. Canning, will ever convince the people of this country, that the coronation was postponed for any other cause than the trial of the queen; unless there be any truth in the rumour, that the military were so decidedly in favour of the queen, that they would not act their part properly in the gorgeous pageant. The postponement, however, is to be regretted on various grounds, but it is a necessary sacrifice to public justice.

On July 15th, the queen sent off three persons to the continent to bring witnesses of the highest rank and respectability to depose to her majesty's

mode of life. Upwards of one hundred persons of this character, are expected to rebut the testimony which is to be brought against her majesty by the filth and dregs of Italian inns and post-houses. The queen went to Barnes the preceding afternoon, but returned before nightfall. She was greeted by thousands on the road. Great numbers of well-dressed females seemed anxious to pay the most respectful attention to her wherever she passed; and the assemblage of respectable people in Portman-street was so great, that the road from Oxford-street to Portman-square was completely blocked up. The attachment of the respectable part of the community was more warm and more general than it had been on any former occasion since her majesty came to face her enemies.

On Sunday, the 27th, Dr. Parr performed divine service before the queen. Her majesty's counsel were with her during the morning. Several English gentlemen of distinction that had visited the queen abroad called in the course of the day to offer their services to give evidence for her majesty.

It is with great pleasure that we lay before our readers the following remarks of an eminent divine, respecting her majesty's religious character, exemplified at this particular period, and we agree with him "that it will be admitted, that a behaviour so strikingly exemplary, cannot but emanate from a heart which is the seat of purity and innocence, honour, and religion."

“ At a time when the press teems with observations on the conduct of the queen, it is remarkable that not one has attempted to portray her majesty's most amiable and strikingly serious and devout deportment in religious worship. Few have been so far privileged as to be present on the occasion. It, however, has fallen to the lot of the writer to have had the very high honour of officiating before her majesty on the third Sunday after her arrival in England; and he conceives it a paramount duty to offer to the public his unsolicited testimony of the queen's most exemplary and devout deportment, during the whole of our Church Service; and he wishes to do so at this particular time, because, from the proximity of the proceedings in the House of Lords, the unsolicited testimony of a minister of the Church of England in her majesty's favour, will, doubtless, have its weight with that noble house, and with every well-regulated mind throughout the Empire. He, therefore, does not hesitate to say, that a stricter attention to divine worship could not be evinced by any person, high or low, than was manifested by our most excellent queen, throughout the entire performance. All the responses, as well as the alternate verses in the Psalms, were delivered by her majesty with the utmost pathos and propriety. It was impossible not to catch a feeling of devotion from the illustrious personage. On every occasion when our venerable Rubric



directed kneeling, the queen, conscious of the more immediate presence of the Deity, invariably fell low on her knees on the floor, not seeking and not having any prop to lean on, but most diligently intent on the awful and solemn exercise in which her whole heart appeared to be engaged ; nor, after the conclusion, did her majesty rise until she had offered up a secret prayer to the Most High, for acceptance in his sight. If, then, a nation is highly favoured where the great and the illustrious are examples of piety and virtue, Britain is truly blest in its present queen. And as to judge of a tree by its fruit, is the only certain method of forming a right judgment, so it will be admitted that a behaviour so strikingly exemplary, cannot but emanate from a heart which is the seat of purity and innocence, honour and religion."

In the afternoon of Sunday 16th, the queen went through Hyde-park, about half-past six, exactly in the same state as on the preceding Sunday. The drive was very much crowded at the time, and the course of her majesty's carriage thereby much impeded. She had scarcely entered Cumberland-gate, when she was recognised, and "The queen!" "The queen!" "Hats off!" "Hats off!" &c. resounded on all sides. The promenade was also much crowded, and the moment the cry of "The queen" was heard, every body rushed impetuously towards the drive. Towards the bottom of the drive, near

Apsley-house, the carriages and horsemen were so numerous, that the royal carriage was for some moments unable to proceed at all. The cry of "Hats off!" was now very generally renewed, with increased vigour, and it was generally complied with, whilst many persons loudly cheered her majesty. At length the carriage passed through the gate, and drove off rapidly in the direction of Vauxhall-bridge.

The arrival of some of the Italian witnesses against her majesty, and their uncourteous treatment at Dover, have been already noticed;

On Friday, at eleven or twelve at night, they were wheeled, like a waggon-load of nastiness, through the streets of London, and dropped in Bucklersbury. But it appears that all the water in the Straits of Dover would not cleanse them of their filth; it was such indeed, that the landlady of the house in the city, resolved to expel them forthwith from her premises, and accordingly on Saturday night, was preparing so to do, when there drove up to the door two post-coaches, hired, as was said, for *Harwich*. But this was shrewdly suspected to be a feint: as the witnesses were brought the whole way from Italy, it was, perhaps, unreasonable to suppose that they would be so quickly sent off again, from any impression of fear or shame in their employers, before some man of business—as Mr. Cooke, for instance, or Sir John Leach, (whose names were continually in their mouths)—had

ascertained how far they were capable of serving the cause of that "allegorical personage, called Public Justice."

The public having now been put into possession of the charges against the queen, considerable anxiety prevailed to know the day appointed for the second reading of the bill, as the trial might be then said to commence. On Monday, Lord Liverpool rose in the House of Lords, to call their lordships' attention to the order of the day made with reference to the bill he had introduced on the report of the secret committee. When this subject was under discussion on a former occasion, it was thought that the illustrious person against whom the proceedings were instituted, and her counsel, were desirous of considerable delay; but, in consequence of the report of the secret committee, and the bill which he had laid on the table, an application of a different nature had been made by the queen's counsel—namely, that their lordships should proceed forthwith with the inquiry. On the last day on which this subject was under discussion, he had thrown out for their lordships' consideration, whether they would think proper to proceed with this inquiry without the presence of the judges. In the communications he had had with those whom he thought right to consult on this point, he was confirmed in the opinion that their lordships could not exercise their duty in the manner which became them, if they proceeded in

this measure without having the advantage of at least a portion of the judges. He had now to call their lordships' attention to the next stage of the bill. Consistently with the wish of answering the call made for an immediate proceeding, with as little delay as possible, he had made it his duty to inquire what was the earliest period at which the presence of a part of the judges could be obtained, and he had found that by the 17th of August, their lordships might have at least the attendance of four. It was, therefore, his intention to move that the bill be read a second time on the 17th of August next. What would be the view of the illustrious person, who was the object of the bill, with regard to the course he now proposed, remained to be seen. He knew not how far that illustrious person might, or might not, have objection to the time. He must observe, however, that if it should be thought advisable to make any application to their lordships for a change of time, or delay, he trusted that such application would be made within a few days; because, if it came in August, after the preparations for proceeding had been completed, and their lordships had made their arrangements for attending, it would be very inconvenient to comply with it. He must, therefore, repeat his hope, that if any such application was intended, it would be made without loss of time. If their lordships agreed to his proposition for fixing the second reading of the bill for Thursday the 17th

of August, he would next move that a copy of the order be sent to her majesty, that counsel be allowed to be heard for and against the bill before the second reading; and that the judges on that day be ordered to attend. He concluded by moving, that the bill be read a second time on Thursday, August 17.

*Earl Grey* would not oppose the motion; but thought that if there was to be any delay, it would be much better it should take place before the proceedings commenced than during their progress. He thought, however, that some arrangement might be made with her majesty, so as to have the delay previously to the inquiry, instead of making it interpose, as it otherwise might do, to allow time for the preparation of the defence. How this was to be brought about he did not know: but he thought it might be accomplished by communicating to her majesty a copy of the charges, and a list of the witnesses against her, which he considered nothing more than what strict justice required. He thought the attendance of four judges sufficient, and did not think that the noble earl had shewn any necessity for the postponement.

*Lord Holland* could see no reason why the names of the witnesses should not be disclosed to the accused party on this occasion. Either a statement of the precise evidence should be allowed; or, if that were refused, a list of the witnesses should be forthcoming. The ends of justice could

not be properly attained, unless either at this moment, or at some future period, the necessary information were laid before her majesty's legal advisers, and sufficient time were given them to examine the evidence in all its bearings.

*Lord Erskine* conceived that the party accused ought to have the advantage of knowing who the witnesses were, that their character and conduct might be inquired into. That appeared to him to be consonant with the plain principles of justice. When they were called on to decide this question, whatever his decision might be, he was determined to act with the most impartial justice. He would pay no regard, no respect, to persons; he would look only to the case, however painful it might be to his feelings. When a person was indicted for high treason, he was furnished with a copy of the indictment, and with a list of all the witnesses. Should not the same course be adopted in a case that was so analogous? In a case of high treason, if the prosecutor omitted the name of a single witness, though perhaps the accused had an opportunity of knowing that such a witness existed, and therefore could not be on his guard against him, it might put an end to the whole proceeding. As far as the prosecutor, in treasonable cases, was in possession of witnesses, he must produce a list of them; and, in his opinion, such a list ought to be afforded now. If it were not granted, it would seem as if all power

were exercised on one hand—as if an intèrest were mustered up too strong for the individual to contend against. If he were (and God forbid he should be !)—if he were desirous, if he were bad enough, to wish for a conviction, he would still grant to the person accused all the indulgence that the principles and analogies of justice could sanction.

*The Lord Chancellor* observed, that with respect to what his noble and learned friend had said, it appeared that there was no one case whatever, except that of high treason, which he could state as having the smallest analogy to the present; and even that his noble and learned friend was obliged to give up. He must evidently give it up as the law at present stood; and he was glad of having this opportunity to state his opinion. In the course of his professional life he had had occasion to see enormously long lists of witnesses, comprising perhaps 200 or 300 persons, given to defendants in cases of high treason. How could this be avoided as the law now stood? There was, in fact, no way of avoiding it; because, in cases of that description, the prosecutor could not call a single witness whose name was not included in the list. The arguments that had been used might afford good reason for postponing the hearing of the defence; and he was sure their lordships did not imagine that there was a man in that house, or out of doors, who

believed that the defence would be entered on until a full and fair opportunity was given to sift the character of every witness as far as possible.

The motion was then carried; and also a second, directing that his majesty and the queen, and their respective law advisers, should be apprised of the proceeding. On the motion of the Earl of Liverpool, it was ordered that their lordships be summoned for Thursday, August 17, and the house to be called over on that day. The Lord Chancellor added, that the call would be enforced. Lord Liverpool next moved, "that no lord absent himself on that day, or during the subsequent proceedings on this bill, without the leave of the house."

Her majesty, for the purpose of greater privacy, having taken the villa of Mr. Ball at Barnes, regularly drove thither every evening, to inspect the preparations which were carrying on there for her reception; and the concourse of people assembled in Portman-street, to await her return, increased every evening. On Tuesday night the crowd was so great, it was with much difficulty the carriage could be driven up to the door; and, even when it was there, several minutes elapsed before her majesty could alight.

The crowd, for the most part, consisted of respectably dressed persons,—the majority, perhaps, females; and among them carriages and horsemen. Her majesty was received with loud cheers from every part of the assembly, accompa-



nied by the most enthusiastic gestures from those persons more immediately about her carriage.

Mr. Alderman Wood arrived at the house during her majesty's absence, and awaited her return, which was not till between nine and ten o'clock.

In the House of Lords, Lord Auckland rose, on Tuesday, the 18th, to present a petition from the queen, praying that a list of witnesses might be communicated to her majesty's attorney-general. His lordship said, that he would only move at present, that the petition should be read and laid on the table; and would postpone the further consideration of it to Friday, 20th, when the motion, of which notice had been given by a noble lord (Erskine) would be discussed.

The petition was then read, and was to the following purport:

*The Petition of her Majesty Caroline Queen Consort to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

The Queen having been informed, that the House of Lords have resolved that the bill to deprive her majesty of her rank and titles, shall be read a second time on Thursday, the 17th of August, deems it necessary to her just defence, that she should be furnished with a list of the witnesses against her; and therefore desires that such list should be forthwith communicated to her Majesty's Attorney-General.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table, and to be taken into further consideration on Friday, the 20th.

*The Earl of Lauderdale* proposed, that a committee should be appointed to search for precedents applicable to the whole course of proceedings, that their lordships might have before them all that had been done in former cases, to direct them in the present.

*Lord Liverpool* thought, that such a general inquiry would be improper in the first instance; but had no objection to the appointment of a committee, whose labours should be confined to the object of the petition, and whose powers might afterwards be extended.

On the suggestion of the noble earl, *Lord Lauderdale* narrowed his motion, so as to restrict the committee to search for precedents upon the subject of communicating a list of witnesses in cases of bills of attainder, and bills of pains and penalties.

*Lord Holland* opposed the motion, on the ground that it ought, if appointed at all, to report generally; because a single point might mislead, rather than direct, if taken as a precedent: a knowledge of the whole proceeding in any case being necessary, in order to show the real value of any one part, and to determine whether it ought to be a warning or a precedent.

*Lord Bathurst* proposed an amendment, empowering the committee to extend their search to cases of impeachment.

This amendment was opposed by the Lords *Holland* and *Auckland*, as still improperly con-

fining the search of the committee, in the cases specified, to a single point, and being more consistent with a tenacious adherence to forms and rules, than with a rational regard for substantial justice.

The house divided upon the amendment, when it was carried by a majority of eighteen to ten.

On the same evening, Mr. Brougham made an appeal in the House of Commons on behalf of her majesty and her majesty's law-officers; and it was in respect of their being so, and of a proceeding by bill having commenced against her majesty in the other house, where she had no officers, and where it was therefore the question whether she ever should. His majesty, the other party, had his ministers in that house; he had his household officers; but as the bill originated there, and the queen had no person who could act as the nominee of a committee, she was left under peculiar disadvantages. Supposing, too, an event which he could not anticipate—that of the bill coming down to them—he should have to request for himself and his learned friend (Mr. Denman) permission of the house not to vote on any stage of it. He should now move, “That, notwithstanding the standing orders of the house, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman be at liberty to attend the bar of the House of Lords as counsel for her majesty.”

*Lord Castlereagh* thought the house ought not to be called on to decide upon such a motion *instantly*. Upon his lordship's motion, it was postponed till the following day.

Mr. Brougham, on the following evening, pursuant to his notice, moved that his colleague (Mr. Denman) and himself, as law-officers of the queen, should be permitted to appear as counsel at the bar of the lords on behalf of her majesty. The motion was agreed to with scarcely any opposition. The king's attorney-general, as we have already observed, stood in the same situation, so far as to require the permission of the house for him too to appear as counsel at the bar of the lords. Leave was accordingly given to him and his colleague, the solicitor-general. Dr. Lushington, who had been retained on behalf of the queen for the same occasion, asked, and obtained, with some difficulty, the same indulgence. The five honourable members are all under an obligation not to vote on the bill, should it pass the lords into the House of Commons.

On Thursday the 13th, her majesty received an address from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Shaftsbury, to which her majesty returned the following gracious answer :

I cordially thank the mayor of Shaftsbury, and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, for this loyal and affectionate address. The sympathy which they evince for the melancholy losses and the reiterated persecutions which I have endured, cannot but be gratifying to the best feelings of my heart.

To whatever trials I may have been exposed since I first set my foot on the English shore, I shall never forget that, in those trials, I was consoled by the tenderness, and supported by the magnanimity of the English nation.

Though I am well acquainted with the activity and the malignity of my adversaries, I place a firm reliance upon the protection of that great Being, for whom no secrets are hid; and, while those who are no less the enemies of his majesty than of myself, are endeavouring to ruin me by their wiles, and to crush me by their power, I am cheered by the consciousness that I possess a strong rampart of security in the good sense, good feelings, and good principles of this enlightened people.

For some time, public curiosity was excited to know what had become of the Italian witnesses, and in what corner of the island, they would, like the hunted duck on the lake, who dives to escape from the dogs, put up their heads. It was at length ascertained, that they had actually been conveyed to Holland, there to be kept until they were wanted. The Dutch were by no means pleased at their country having been selected as the temporary residence of this mass of iniquity. Their transportation to Holland, was at least a measure of an extraordinary nature.

The violent attack upon these persons at Dover was justly condemned, and we trust the perpetrators will meet with condign punishment; but are ministers therefore afraid of protecting them against a repetition of insult? With all the civil and military power of the country at their command, and without being scrupulous in the employment of the latter, their doubts seem to justify the report that all classes of the people are indignant at the course of proceeding against her majesty—and that they did not think these

witnesses safe from popular rage in any corner of the island. Their conduct in this instance is certainly liable to an alarming supposition !

The address to her majesty from Newcastle, was presented on Friday morning, and the following gracious answer was given :

With great satisfaction I receive this address from his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the vicinity.

I accept with thanks, and return with sincerity, the affectionate expression of your wishes towards myself, and towards that illustrious house from which I am descended ; and the true honour of which, as it never has been, so it never shall be tarnished by me.

Whatever I possess of wisdom, courage, and magnanimity, has been fostered and strengthened by the example of this discerning, generous, and gallant nation, on whose unalterable attachment to the principles of justice I firmly rely, under Divine Providence, for support under all my unmerited afflictions, and for protection against the machinations and violence of all my enemies.

On Friday, the 20th, the committee appointed to search for precedents, respecting the communicating a list of witnesses to persons accused, made their report ; and, on it being ordered to lie on the table,

*Lord Erskine* contended, that a list of the witnesses in support of the accusation ought to be communicated to her majesty. The bill did not specify either time or place in which the offence had been committed. Thus her majesty would

have to defend herself from 1814, the time of her leaving the country, to 1820, during which period the illustrious personage having travelled to a variety of places, the charges extended over the whole progress of her different journeys. If, on the contrary, her majesty were furnished with a list of witnesses, she might then be enabled to rebut the charges, or obtain the means of cross-examining the witnesses; but, if it was denied, her majesty would, after the examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, naturally require delay, and a considerable interruption would take place. Every one acquainted with proceedings in courts of law knew how much depended upon the cross-examination of witnesses for the prosecution, in order to elicit the falsehood of their statements, if falsehood there be. If the list was refused, her majesty would, of course, be entitled to delay, in order to prepare her means of defence. In what a situation would, therefore, their lordships be placed in the mean time? In courts of law, if a trial is adjourned from day to day, the jury is locked up, or required to pledge themselves that they will not communicate on the subject of the trial. Would their lordships consent to be locked up during the interval? He alluded also to the difficulty her majesty would labour under in shaping her defence, without the possibility of knowing what specific acts are attempted to be proved against her. When a divorce was sued out in the ecclesiastical court, the acts to

be proved, the time when, and the place where, they were committed, were particularly specified in the libel, a copy of which was furnished to the accused party. His lordship concluded by moving three resolutions to the following effect:

1. That a list of witnesses should be furnished forthwith to her majesty's legal advisers.
2. That the delivery of such list should not exclude the house from the right of examining other witnesses, if necessary, not named in the list.
3. That copies of the depositions should also be furnished.

After some observations from the Lord Chancellor, Lords Holland, Belhaven, and Bute, the motion of Lord Erskine was negatived by a majority of 50.

During this week her majesty received several letters from persons of distinction in Italy, expressing an anxious wish to be called upon to bear their testimony to the general propriety and unimpeachable character of her majesty's court. Communications were likewise received from persons in an humbler class, resident at Naples, Venice, Milan, Como, and Rome, in which some curious statements are made of the expedients resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining witnesses to be produced at the approaching investigation.

On the other hand, among other subjects of annoyance to which her majesty was at this time exposed, were the proffers of "kind friends" to



suppress facts and documents which might assist her prosecutors in establishing their charges. Her majesty invariably declined the interference of these persons, and desired that they might take their commodities to a market where they would be more acceptable. There was a proffer of a like nature from a baron, formerly notorious in this country, but lately resident at Dunkirk. It met with a similar reception.

In the absence of Messrs. Brougham and Denman, who were attending their professional duties on the circuits, the task of protecting the queen's interests, and of watching over the proceedings of Parliament, devolved upon Doctor Lushington; and on Saturday, the learned doctor rose in the House of Commons for the purpose of moving, "That an humble address be presented to the king, praying that he will be graciously pleased to order that there be laid before this house, copies of all official papers relative to a service of plate presented in the year 1806, by his late majesty to the queen, then Princess of Wales, and used by her from that period up to her departure from England in the year 1814."

In consequence, however, of the absence of Lord Castlereagh, the motion was withdrawn, and Doctor Lushington put it into the shape of a motion for the following Monday; accordingly on that day the learned Doctor renewed his motion, and Lord Castlereagh in answering the statement of the honourable mover, took occasion

to speak in strong terms of all attempts made to inflame the public mind, and spoke of the queen as listening to improper advisers, and suffering herself to be made an instrument of the evil designs of others, which had prevented her from receiving those accommodations, of the want of which she complained. On the subject of the plate, he argued, that the late king could never have intended to make it a personal present to the then Princess of Wales, as he had no more power to do so than to alienate the Crown Lands, it being the property of the Crown as attached to a royal palace, and some of it having actually belonged to King William. It was, therefore, merely intended *for her use*, like other furniture of Kensington Palace, while she resided there in 1808, and was never intended by that use to be detached from the establishment. Mr. Huskisson corroborated this statement, and the motion was negatived without a division.

It must be admitted, that the queen was led into an error respecting the plate which his late majesty allowed her to use while in Kensington Palace. The king could not make a present of the plate belonging to the Crown. It is not unusual for an order to issue for plate from the Jewel Office to princes of the blood, while resident in any of the royal palaces. Such an order was made for her majesty while Princess of Wales, and a similar issue of plate was made for the Duke of Cambridge, but they both sent them

back, and they were returned to the Jewel Office.

In the course of the parliamentary proceedings in the House of Commons on Monday the 17th, Mr. Sheriff Rothwell appeared at the bar, and presented the petition relative to the proceedings against the queen, which had that day been agreed to by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commoners of the City of London, in Common-council assembled.

Alderman Wood said, the petition that was just presented to the house had been that day agreed to by a very large majority of the common-council. Indeed, scarcely ten hands had been held up against it. He conceived that it was worthy the attention of that house, or of any other assembly; and he begged leave to add, that he concurred in every sentiment contained in it.

The petition was then read. The petitioners stated that they had learned with great regret, that a Bill of Pains and Penalties had been introduced to the House of Lords against her majesty, having for its object to degrade her from her rank, and to dissolve the marriage between her and his majesty. That the principles on which this measure was founded were never resorted to except in the worst of times, and the petitioners could not but express their sorrow that it was brought forward on evidence that would not be received in ordinary cases. The petitioners contemplated with great satisfaction the caution

observed by this honourable house, in the course of a proceeding which tended to lower the dignity of the Crown, and to endanger the peace of the country. In conclusion, petitioners prayed the house to reject the Bill of Pains and Penalties, if it should come before them. The petition was received.

On Tuesday, the 18th, Lord W. Russell and Mr. Whitbread waited upon her majesty, to present the address from the town of Bedford, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

I receive, with the most cordial satisfaction and gratitude, the assurance of the affectionate attachment of the Mayor and Inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Bedford.

The condolence and sympathy expressed for the irreparable loss which I have sustained during my absence from England, in the persons of my beloved daughter, and his late revered majesty, is most valuable to me, and offers the only alleviation to my feelings of which the circumstances admit.

It is no slight aggravation of the pain occasioned by those severe losses, that those enemies, who for years have been seeking my destruction, no sooner perceived that I am destitute of that protection which before shielded me, than their attacks were renewed in a form scarcely admitting resistance ; boundless as are the means of overawing and corrupting, possessed by these implacable foes, no less of his majesty than of myself. But, however well-calculated may have been their measures to effect my destruction, by secret machinations, followed by the most audacious and industrious circulation of slander of their own creation, I

yet feel confident that that justice which has hitherto been the brightest characteristic of the British nation, will not be sacrificed or tarnished in my person. At the same time I cannot but be astonished and grieved that these slanders should have been in any respect sanctioned before I have been heard in my defence, furnished with any specific charge, or suffered to know who are the witnesses by whom I have thus been reviled.

To whatever dangers, however, I may be exposed, from the power and malice of my enemies, I never can regret that I did not submit to purchase security, and become party to my own degradation, by consenting to continue absent from the kingdom, under a compromise which must have equally affected the honour of all concerned. I thank you for your manly and generous expression, that the insults offered to your queen you feel as offered to the nation; and be assured, that while my honour is identified with the nation's (from which it never can be really separated), with God's help, I will maintain it in the face of every danger, and to the last moment of my life; feeling at the same time, that no sacrifice but that of the honour of the country, can be too great to promote the prosperity and happiness of a nation to which I already owe so much.

The address from Newbury was presented the same day by Mr. Grey and a deputation, accompanied by Mr. Alderman Wood, to which her majesty gave the following answer :

His majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, inhabitants of the borough of Newbury, merit my grateful acknowledgments for their frank and affectionate address. During my long absence from this country, I never ceased to remember the obligations which I owed to its high-minded generosity. Those obligations have been greatly increased since my re

turn; and I should be insensible to all right feeling, if I did not, hereafter, consider England as my only home.

I have shed my tears over the early grave of the Princess Charlotte; and I am, at this moment, sensibly affected by the tribute of affection which you have paid to her memory, and by that tender recollection of her worth which is so universally cherished.

When death removed his late revered majesty to a happier scene, I instantly felt the magnitude of the loss I had sustained; while his sacred life was spared, it operated like a barrier against the vengeance of my persecutors. But his dear remains were hardly cold, when my enemies began to renew their persecutions, and to load me with aggravated indignities. I was almost instantly held up to the people as a criminal, unworthy of having my name inserted in their devotional formularies. The conspiracy, which had been defeated, though only by a partial investigation of my conduct, in 1806 and 1807, again reared its vindictive head; and an attempt is now making to degrade me in rank, and to sink me in infamy, by a procedure which is at once an outrage upon all law, and wholly incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution. But my honour and my rights are, in fact, those of the country; and every one is interested in their preservation. The tyranny which destroys me to-day, makes every man's liberty less secure to-morrow. In the present alarming crisis, when I am attacked by the strong arm of overwhelming power, I rely first, as an innocent woman, upon the favour of a protecting Providence; and next, as an insulted and a persecuted queen, upon the sympathies of the people; and upon that potent agency of public opinion, which now forms the best safeguard against the aggressions of tyranny, and the enormities of injustice.

The petition from the city of London, which

was presented to the House of Lords, by Lord Erskine, on the 19th, against the Bill of Pains and Penalties, was rejected, and the objections which were made to the petition were various. Lord Holland took the narrowest and most defensible ground, viz., that the petition contained assertions respecting the papers presented to the committee, which the petitioners were not warranted in making. Lord Lauderdale said, the allegations of the petition were erroneous. The Lord Chancellor said, the house should not tolerate an interference with *judicial* proceedings; and Lord Redesdale (treating the Lord Chancellor's arguments, according to Sheridan's phrase, as gypsies treat other men's children—disfiguring them to make them pass for their own,) said that the house should not allow any imputation to be thrown upon the mode of proceeding by Bill of Pains and Penalties.

The petition was rejected in the most unceremonious manner.

Her majesty, in consequence of the indisposition of Lady Anne Hamilton, confined herself at this time for some days to the house, but she was visited daily by many foreigners of distinction, one of whom made a pleasing communication to her majesty, that a family at Milan, who lent her majesty a house for six weeks, had voluntarily offered to come to England to give evidence in behalf of her majesty. The lady of this family is above 70, but she declared she would cheerfully undertake

the fatigue of the journey, if her evidence could be of any utility to her majesty.

Some particular objections having arisen to the residence which her majesty had selected at Barnes, a treaty was subsequently commenced for Brandenburg-house, formerly the mansion of the Margravine of Anspach, near Hammersmith, and the treaty was, in a short time, satisfactorily concluded.

In the mean time, immense crowds of people continued to assemble round her majesty's house in Portman-street every evening. On the preceding Sunday, the street was completely blocked up till after ten o'clock.

The honourable fraternity of Italian spies and informers was, during this period, secretly and silently increasing in Holland. Mr. B. J. Capper arrived at Dunkirk on Friday the 7th, with five of these new and meritorious claimants upon the English pension-list; and finding at that place some information awaiting him, that the air of England had been found not to agree with the constitution of those who had formerly landed, he proceeded with them to Ostend, and thence to the general dépôt, where they were to catechise and drill each other in regard to the evolutions which they would be shortly called upon to perform in the English House of Lords.

Respecting these witnesses, a letter from the Hague, of the 18th of July, says—"The witnesses against the queen (twenty-six in number)



are distributed through the villages adjacent to this place, where they were placed by the secretary of the British embassy, with the aid of the police magistrate. Their appearance, and the purpose for which they are brought hither, have made a strong impression, and the people feel degraded that their country has been selected for an asylum to those who, they suppose, cannot be received in England."

In the House of Lords, on Thursday the 20th, on the motion of the Earl of Liverpool, a committee was appointed to search for precedents relating to the Royal Divorce Bill, and to consider of the most effectual means of enforcing the attendance of the members of that house upon the approaching trial. Among the committee were,

Archbishop of Canterbury  
The Earl of Shaftesbury  
The Lord Chancellor  
Lord Redesdale

The Earl of Liverpool  
Viscount Melville  
Lord Calthorpe  
Lord Holland.

On Friday the 21st, Mr. M. A. Taylor, the recorder, and Messrs. Lester and Dent, members for Poole, presented an address to her majesty. They were received most graciously. Her majesty was observed to be in high spirits, and returned the following answer :

I accept with gratitude this loyal and affectionate address from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Poole. When they speak of the late Princess Charlotte as the best hope of the nation, and of

the late beloved king as the kind protector of my innocence, their language is in perfect unison with the conviction of my mind, and with the feelings of my heart.

I feel no inquietude about the result of the present attack upon my honour and my peace. The charges against me in 1806 had no other origin than malice, and no other support than perjury. The charges against me in 1820 will be found to be equally destitute of proof.

I should have been humiliated beneath contempt if I had suffered my character to become an affair of pecuniary calculation. I should instantly have been deprived of that self-respect which is the basis of virtue, as well as have forfeited the esteem of this noble nation, if, in a late attempt at negotiation on the part of my accusers, I had exhibited a spirit unworthy of a British Queen. If there can be any satisfaction in what is sordid in sentiment and debased in conduct, I willingly resign that to the pusillanimity of my adversaries.

If I can in any way contribute to the happiness of the nation, I shall always consider the augmentation of that happiness as an accession to my own. My welfare is the welfare of the people; their good is my good; and their prosperity is my highest exultation.

I should feel myself unworthy of the elevated station which I occupy if I could approve the practice, or cherish the sentiment of revenge. That principle ought to have no residence in any royal breast.

If England was not my native country, the people of England have rendered it as dear to me as the land of my nativity. In their enlightened sentiments of justice, in their generous affections, and in their steady loyalty, I possess a strength which no menace can shake, and a comfort which no adversity can take away.

In justice to her majesty, it is with pleasure

insert the following interesting anecdote, and think it ought to abash the journal whose indiscriminate abuse of her majesty, was the cause of its publicity. We extract it from the *Edinburgh*, with a confirmation from the Editor of that paper, of the fact mentioned by his correspondent. The following is the letter :

SIR,—In an article in a late London evening paper, there is the following passage :—" We trust we shall be excused for saying, that we never heard before of any generous and humane action performed by the queen, either abroad or at home." It is elsewhere said, in the same article, that, notwithstanding all her majesty's professions of deep interest in this " generous people," she, in fact, does not care one fig for them. How far these observations are well founded may, perhaps, be discovered from the following anecdote. But to enable your readers to understand it, it will be necessary to go into a little previous detail.

This time two years, I went, with a party of friends, to the continent, viz. Holland. In the packet, there was a strange passenger named Comoli, an Italian, a native of Como, who had been settled for some years in Edinburgh as a barometer-maker, &c. This honest man had married an Edinburgh girl, who soon brought him a numerous family ; and as the expense of living is much less in Como than in Edinburgh, he had, a year or two before this period, carried his wife and children to the former place, where he is possessed of a cottage and small plot of land on the lake. He was at this time on a visit to them, intending to go up the Rhine. As he was a good-humoured, intelligent man, and sung us Italian songs, he was a great favourite with us ; and we promised to see him again on our return to Edinburgh.

The other day, as I was passing through St. Mary's Wynd, I observed my friend Comoli's shop, and called to inquire for him and his family. I found him quite solitary, his wife and all his children but one, being still at Como; as he cannot yet afford to bring them here, or to join them there. In the course of conversation, I asked him if he had seen the queen when at Como? He answered in the affirmative, and told me that her majesty was much beloved there, especially by the poor people, to whom she was very kind. In particular he mentioned, and not without evident feelings of gratitude, that her majesty having, one day some time previous to his arrival at Como, seen his wife, and finding from her accent she was a Briton, the queen at once became much interested in her, and having learned that she had five young children, and was but indifferently provided for, though not in absolute poverty her majesty generously gave the good woman a louis d'or, and desired her at all times to come freely to the palace when in any distress, and she would get relief.

This little story (which any of your readers may have an opportunity of authenticating by a conversation with honest Comoli) may, perhaps, appear trifling to some; with me the case is different. A very slight trait is often decisive of a character. There was very little chance of such an action as this becoming known in this country. It would be most uncandid, therefore, to ascribe it to ostentation, or to any other than a purely benevolent motive; and I hope the writer of the article will now be induced to retract his observations above-mentioned, which he seems to have made without due inquiry or consideration.

I am, Sir, &c.

VERUS.

G—— Sq——, 17th July, 1820.

We have seen Comoli, who has repeated to us the above anecdote, with many other circumstances illustrative of her majesty's well-known benevolent disposition.—ED.

On Monday, the 24th, Lord Erskine rose in the House of Lords, and said, it was his duty to present a petition to their lordships on the part of her majesty; and, in presenting it, he must state to the house, that her majesty, as it appeared to him, had made a very just and reasonable request to their lordships. She begged of them, as a list of the witnesses had been refused to her, that she should be furnished with a specification of the times and places when and where it was alleged that she had acted licentiously. The petition was read by his lordship. It was as follows:—

To the Lords Spiritual, &c.

The queen laments that the House of Lords have deemed it proper to refuse her application for a list of the witnesses to be examined in support of the bill of degradation and dissolution of marriage; thus leaving her majesty and her legal advisers in total ignorance as to the time or place to which the charges may relate, or the person by whose testimony the allegations in the bill are intended to be supported.

Her majesty now submits to the House of Lords, that a specification of the place or places in which the criminal acts are charged to have been committed, should forthwith be furnished to her majesty's attorney-general; for, if this be denied, it will be impossible to be prepared to meet the accusation, or to take preliminary measures for providing

defensive evidence against the charges, without bringing from every place her majesty has visited during the last six years, every witness who had any means of observing her majesty's conduct.

Her majesty further desires to be heard by her counsel and agent, at your lordships' bar, in support of this her request.

*Lord Erskine* hoped that this last part of the petition would not be refused; but that their lordships would give immediate orders to have her counsel called in, that they might point out the propriety of adopting the course required. His lordship knew nothing at all as to the places at which the offence was said to have been perpetrated: it was only known that various parts of the south of Europe were said to have been the scenes of this alleged licentiousness: and the charge being that of the commission of criminal acts during a period of six years, it was utterly impossible to meet it unless their lordships granted the specification called for, or after they had heard the evidence in support of the charge, they would allow the queen a fair time for her defence, by adjourning the house to such a period as would give her an opportunity of having the assistance of counter-witnesses. He must say, and felt it to be his duty strongly to declare, that, if her request was not complied with, she would not have that opportunity, which during a long professional experience, he had always considered of the utmost importance—

that of seeing the witnesses face to face, and of confronting them with others by whom they might be contradicted. As he had told their lordships before, and he felt it from the bottom of his heart, he conceived that if they adjourned the examination, they would not take the best mode of administering justice: they would, he thought, take away from the dignity and honour of the house, if witnesses were sent away before they were fully cross-examined; and yet this must be the case if her majesty were unacquainted with those who were to appear against her, or with the places to which their statements related.

The petition was then handed to the clerk by Lord Erskine, but it was not read by him.

The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Liverpool, and Earl Bathurst contended, that if the time and place were to be specified at which adultery was charged, the inquiry before their lordships must be of a very limited description. Suppose evidence to be given of a material character, but not corresponding to the alleged time and place, would their lordships think it right to strike out such evidence? This was not even done in other proceedings of divorce: and with regard to what had been said about the queen's conduct at Milan, that referred only to a single place, and to a particular period of the time to which the whole charge referred. The 17th August had been fixed to the supposed satisfaction of all

parties. Their lordships had not deemed it right to furnish a list of the witnesses, and they were now desired to inform the queen of the places at which the alleged improprieties had occurred. If her majesty meant to defend her case on the 17th of August, this application was perfectly absurd; because she could make no use of the indulgence by a period so early. If the prayer of the petition were good for any thing, it ought to be accompanied by an objection to so early a commencement of the proceedings.

Lord Holland made a few observations. The house then divided upon Lord Erskine's motion, which was rejected by 37 to 12.

On the rejection of this petition we shall make but a few remarks, as the objection which we have before adverted to, has been in this instance repeated. To grant a specification of time and place, is not consistent with the form of the proceedings. It is, however, unfortunate that a mode of proceeding should have been adopted by which not the defendant, for that supposes a crime known to the law—not the person to be tried, for that also supposes an illegal act—but the person who is to be afflicted by a new law, in a mode for which our language furnishes no correct expression, is to be deprived of the natural means of proving the falsehood of the allegations which are made the reason of this infliction.

It has seldom fallen to our lot to notice a more infamous personal libel—a more gross outrage



MEMOIRS OF CAROLINE,

in the decencies of social life—a more audacious insult to public justice, than a paragraph from a provincial paper, relative to her majesty, which at that time attracted the public attention. It appeared in Flyndell's *Western Luminary*, and was as follows:

Shall a woman who is as notoriously devoted to *pleasure* as to *Venus*—shall such a woman as this, if found on our pavement, be committed to the stocks and whipped—be held up in the light of a model of virtue and innocence?"

This infamous and unparelled libel formed the subject of a motion in the House of Commons by Mr. Wetherell, the purport of which was to request the attorney-general to prosecute the printer and publisher of the paper in which the libel appeared. An argument ensued upon the motion,

but it was at length withdrawn, it being considered beneath the dignity of her majesty to take any notice of such a slanderous libel.

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Shaftesbury laid on the table the report of the committee appointed to inquire into precedents relative to the enforcement of the attendance of peers during great and solemn occasions. The report was read by the clerk. It set forth—

The committee appointed by their lordships to search the journals for precedents as to the best means of enforcing the attendance of peers of this house during the proceedings on a bill entitled "An Act to deprive her majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges,

and exemptions, of queen consort of these realms, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth"—Ordered to report. The committee have met, searched the journals, and found the precedents annexed to this report; and the committee are of opinion, that, if the house think fit, the following resolutions should be agreed to:—

Resolved, That no lord do absent himself, on pain of incurring a fine of 100*l.* for each day's absence pending the three first days of such proceedings, and of 50*l.* for each subsequent day's absence from the same; and in default of payment of any and every such fine, of being taken into custody.

Resolved, That no excuses be admitted, save disability from age, viz., being of the age of 70 years and upwards, or from sickness, or having been out of the realm in foreign parts on the 10th of July instant, being the day on which the order for the second reading of the said bill was made, and continuing out of the same; or out of Great Britain on his majesty's service, or on account of the death of a parent, wife, or child.

Resolved, That every peer absenting himself from age or sickness do address a letter to the lord chancellor, stating, upon his honour, that he is so disabled.

Resolved, That the lord chancellor do write a letter to the several peers and prelates of the house, in the following terms; and that a copy of the said resolutions do accompany the same:—

‘ My lord,—I am commanded by the House of Lords to acquaint you, that the house expects your lordship's attendance upon the second reading of the bill, entitled “ An Act to deprive her majesty,” &c., on Thursday the 17th day of August next, at ten of the clock in the forenoon: and that it is the further order of the house that no lord shall absent himself from the service of the house upon the second read-

ing of the said bill, or on any of the subsequent proceedings of the house upon the same, without the leave of the house, upon pain of incurring the displeasure of the house.'

On the motion of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the resolutions of the committee were agreed to. His lordship then moved an address to his majesty in the above mentioned terms, which was also agreed to.

An address was at this time presented to her majesty, signed by 7,800 females of the town of Nottingham, in which they say—

We would not wring anew your feelings, they have been too often wrung; yet when we consider this, we are not surprised that, though you are not defended by the drawn sabres of the military, you are always surrounded by your guards; thus imitating the example of the magnanimous Queen Elizabeth, trusting your defence to a brave people, who will not be deterred by any power under heaven to forsake you in the day of peril. All in whom the spirit of the days of chivalry are not utterly extinct, all who would not immolate the best impulses of our nature on the altar of modern policy, will rally round their queen, and save her alike from foreign emissaries and spies, and domestic persecutors.

To this address her majesty returned the following answer :

I should be deficient in sensibility if I had not felt the warmest gratitude and more than ordinary delight, when I received from the female inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity, an address, which is remarkable for the amiable spirit which it breathes, and for the fervor of attachment to my person and rights which it displays. I am proud of being the queen of women of such generous senti-

ments : and I am happy to remark that such sentiments indicate an increased and increasing cultivation of the female mind.

To be conscious that the hearts of so large a portion of my own sex are vibrating with emotions of affection for his majesty's royal consort, that they are sympathising with her sorrows, and deprecating her wrongs, and that her happiness is the object of their pious supplications, cannot but awaken in my breast the most pleasurable sensations. The same spirit of devotedness to the fair fame, to the lawful rights, and to the general interests of a persecuted queen, which animates the female inhabitants of Nottingham, is, I trust, diffused through a large majority of their countrywomen. They will consider the honour of her majesty as reflected upon themselves—they will best know how to appreciate the vexations by which I have been harassed, the slanders by which I have been assailed, and the indignities by which I have been oppressed.

With the most gentle delicacy the female inhabitants of the town Nottingham and its vicinity have touched those springs of grief in my heart which will ever continue painfully to vibrate at the recollection of the near and dear relatives of whom I have been bereaved, and particularly of that departed saint in whose talents, and whose virtues, the women have lost a model of the most estimable excellence, and the nation in general a future sovereign, under whose fostering care that liberty would have flourished which gives happiness to the people and security to the throne.

The deputation from the city of Rochester waited upon her majesty on the 26th with their address, and her majesty was pleased to return the following gracious answer :

This loyal, warm, and ingenuous address, entitles the

citizens and inhabitants of Rochester to my most cordial thanks. When they make my return to these realms the topic of congratulation, and my former departure from England the subject of regret, their joy and their sorrow are mingled with my own.

The affectionate manner in which the citizens and inhabitants of Rochester mention my two deceased, most dear, and most lamented relatives, powerfully touches every chord of sensibility in my breast. I still mourn over their graves—but not as one without hope. That beloved daughter, of whom I have been bereaved, was once my exhilarating delight, and his late revered majesty my unalterable trust. Had their lives been happily protracted, I should not now have to contend against that malice, and those calumnies, by which I am so rancorously assailed.

My constitutional rights are, at present, attacked in an unconstitutional manner. If, in this country, the life, the property, and the reputation of the most humble individual are safe within the sanctuary of the laws, surely those laws ought not to be violated on purpose to deprive the queen of her rank, her title, and her truly legitimate rights.

If, as a subject, I am answerable to the laws, let those laws be sacredly observed in the judicial investigation of my conduct. Let me not, by any proceeding, which if it retains the form of justice is conceived in the spirit of tyranny, be put at once out of the protecting pale of the law, and the tutelary guardianship of the Constitution.

I have no wish—I can have no wish to leave this enlightened, this hospitable country. In what other part of the world could I find, or expect to find, a people so affectionate, friends so steady, or a home in which I have so little to fear from the machinations of my enemies?

The same day an address was presented to her

majesty from the town of Morpeth, to which her majesty gave the following answer :

I am unfeignedly obliged to the worthy inhabitants of the town of Morpeth and its vicinity, for their loyal and affectionate address ; and particularly for their condolence upon those severe domestic losses which have often agonised my heart. I no sooner set my foot on British shore, after my late long absence, than I felt that I was respiring the air of freedom, and was in the midst of a generous people, amongst whom the persecuted and oppressed can never want a friend. Their sublime sentiments and their virtuous sympathies were instantly excited in favour of an injured queen. From the south to the north, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, the spark of enthusiastic loyalty has been kindled in every breast. If the age of chivalry were ever past, I have lived to see it revived anew.

I humbly solicit, and boldly challenge, any open, any legal investigation ; and, the more my character is investigated, the more, I trust, it will be found to be intimately embodied with the principles of rectitude. I wish for life, only to make others feel that it is a blessing to live.

I consider my rights and privileges, as queen consort of the sovereign, to be a part of the sacred patrimony of the British nation ; and, I will defend them with intrepid constancy, for their benefit rather than for my own personal gratification. The rights and liberties of the people are the best safeguard of the sovereign, and while I live I shall pray for their everlasting preservation.

The queen this week sent a communication to the House of Lords, informing their lordships of her intention to be present every day during the investigation, which is to take place in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties relating to her, which has been introduced into the house by

Lord Liverpool. Her Majesty also desired that their lordships will order a seat to be provided for her in the House of Lords, so situated that she may be enabled to hear distinctly all the evidence that may be produced in the course of the investigation.

Lord Duncannon waited on her majesty on the 27th, with an address from the town of Wakefield and its vicinity, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

I receive with heartfelt satisfaction, this loyal and affectionate address from his majesty's subjects, inhabitants of the town of Wakefield, and its vicinity. Their sentiments of congratulation on my accession to the high dignity of queen of these realms, are a proof that their minds have not been unduly influenced by the flagitious calumnies of my persecutors ; and I am, at the same time, feelingly alive to their expressions of kind condolence upon the melancholy losses of those near and dear relatives, which I experienced while on the Continent.

I am sensible of the indignities with which I have been assailed, not so much because they are disrespectful to myself, as because they are insulting to the nation ; for the nation has been insulted in the late outrages upon the character of its lawful queen. Though I am attacked by *that malice, which hesitates at no falsehood*, and by an *assumption of power*, which seems to *spurn all limitation*, I feel a cheering-confidence of present support, and of effectual triumph in the affections of the people.

I have been accused of appealing to popular clamour—but I appeal to nothing but to the good sense and good feeling—to the reason—the morality and the patriotism of the most enlightened and most respectable portion of the community. *If I am to be condemned without justice, and*

*dethroned against all law, the liberties of every individual will receive a fatal stab ; and the character of the highest judicature will be blasted to the latest posterity.*

My own personal welfare is of little moment ; but I do feel as a queen for the public welfare, which is deeply implicated in the vindication of my violated rights.

The power which the *House of Lords* are assuming in their Bill of Pains and Penalties, not only of divorcing his majesty's royal consort, but of *dethroning their lawful queen*, may prove in their result productive of an age of misery to the nation. The child that is now at the breast, may live to rue its consequences.

The consciousness of rectitude, *of which no Bill of Pains and Penalties can ever deprive me*, will support me through all trials ; and, even though the force of my enemies should, in the end, prove commensurate with their malignity, the people shall never have occasion to reproach me with neglecting their happiness, *with betraying their rights, or with relinquishing, for one moment, the patriotic magnanimity of the queen.*

This answer of her majesty's set her enemies all upon the alert, for they saw in it an incitement to rebellion, and designs the most mischievous. It was described as stirring up the people to revolution, and instilling into their minds the true spirit of disaffection to the laws. The bitterest terms of reproach were vented against her majesty, and her arrival in this country was represented as a baneful meteor, blasting the happiness of the nation. We believe it may be retorted with truth, that they are the real destroyers of the happiness of the nation, who by the accumu-



lated indignities which they offered to her majesty, forced her to seek a refuge in the bosom of a noble and a generous nation.

We cannot refrain inserting the following beautiful lines, which were at this time written on the distressing situation of her majesty :

She has come unarray'd in the pomp and the splendor,  
That royalty throws round the steps of a queen ;  
And turns to her foes without guard or defender,  
Majestic in sorrow, in danger serene.

Where is the child of her bosom who bless'd her ?—

Where is the monarch who mourn'd o'er her woes,  
Who guarded her rights when injustice oppress'd her,  
Who solac'd her sorrows and silenc'd her foes ?

That child of her bosom the cold tomb encloses—

That hope of her heart has for ever gone by !

That monarch who lov'd her in silence reposes,

Untouch'd by her tear, and unwak'd by her sigh !

But though the best beams of her life have departed,

Enough of their heavenly light yet remains

To kindle the breasts of the warm and true hearted,

And waken a fervor in loyalty's veins.

She wants not the pageantry pomp could throw round her,

The brightest of diadems circles her brow !

O, if in the full pride of power we'd found her

Had she been half so dear to our bosoms as now ?

No, the sun-beam that struggles through clouds in the morning

But comes forth more bright in the fullness of day ;

And she yet will shine forth like that sun-beam adorning

The kingdom which Heaven ordain'd her to sway.

Being particularly desirous to lay before our readers every account which transpires of the

character of the Italian witnesses which are pensioned to appear against her majesty, we subjoin the following extract of a letter received from Trieste, dated the 12th of July :

From the hotel in this city, called the *Locanda grande*, two waiters have departed for London to appear as witnesses against the Queen of England. Besides their travelling expenses, they are each allowed ten francs daily. You, who know the degrading employment to which fellows of this description voluntarily offer themselves for a few scudi, will doubt with me the credit they are likely to confer on those who employ them.

It being also our particular desire to enrich these Memoirs with the character and connexions of the individuals who form so prominent a figure in this unprecedented affair, we, in the first instance, lay before our readers an account of the principal actor in the various scenes through which her majesty passed on the Continent, and which totally falsifies the report that Bergami was originally of low extraction. By way of an offset to this ridiculous slur upon him, the origin of Lord Castlereagh and Sir John Leach has been examined, and it was found that neither of them could boast an origin equally respectable with Bergami. This is not meant by way of disparagement to those two individuals, on the contrary, it is honourable to them; but persons who are afflicted with a particular disease, should abstain from reprobating another, who is so unfortunate as to be afflicted with the same malady.

On the first introduction of Bergami into the household of her majesty, then Princess of Wales, we find him holding the situation of cabinet courier, an officer entrusted with despatches of great importance, and usually a person entitled to particular confidence. He was a man who was acquainted with different languages, accustomed to travel, and deemed by those with whom he was acquainted to possess extensive information; added to this, he was of a respectable family, which, by unforeseen and unfortunate circumstances, had been reduced from a state of opulence to a situation of comparative poverty. The honourable marriages of M. Bergami's three sisters, prove, at least, that he was not of the "low station" which has been averred. The first was married to Count Oldi; the second to M. Servergrini, of an ancient family at Cremona; and the third to M. Martini de Lodi, brother of the ex-secretary general of the captaincy of Padua, when commanded by his excellency the Baron de Goez. M. Bergami, the eldest son, soaring beyond his bad fortune, and recollecting the past honourable condition of his family, embraced a military life, and was attached to the *etat-major* of the troops commanded by his Excellency the General Count Pino, in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, as attested by the following declaration of General Major Galimberti:

I declare that M. le Baron Bartolomo Bergami, of Cremona, knight of Malta, has served in the *etat-major* of the

troops, commanded by his Excellency Count Pino, lieutenant-general, to whom I was the chief of the état-major, in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814.

(Signed) Le General-Major GALIMBERTI.

*Dated Milan, November 1, 1816.*

Seen and certified by me, Lieut.-General Count Pino.

Her majesty soon discovered in M. Bergami an intelligence above the situation in which he was placed, and as the reward of his faithful services, she gradually raised him to the rank of her equerry, and from thence to that of her chamberlain. She was acquainted with the misfortunes of his family, and long experience increased for him her esteem. She became particularly interested in his favour, procured for him a barony in Sicily, decorated him with several orders of knighthood, and in fact did every thing in her power to mark her sense of the repeated proofs which he had afforded of his attachment to her person and interests during her long and fatiguing tour. On her return to Italy too, she took two of his brothers as well as his sister into her service. M. Louis Bergami presided over her household, Mr. Sicard having returned to England; and M. Vollotti Bergami formerly under-prefect at Cremona, was the comptroller of her disbursements. Such appear to be the real state of the facts with regard to this individual. We shall only add, that M. Bergami continued in her majesty's service down to her departure from St. Omer's. He travelled with her majesty from Pesaro, leaving behind him

his wife and sisters, but bringing with him his daughter, an amiable child, seven years of age, whom her majesty had adopted, and to whom she was particularly partial, from its extraordinary acquirements at so early an age. This interesting little *protégé* of her majesty was perfect mistress of French and Italian, and had no inconsiderable skill in music and other fashionable accomplishments. Such was her natural attachment to her parent, however, that she could not be induced to accompany her majesty to England, and returned with her father to Italy.

In person, M. Bergami is a man of about five feet eleven inches in height, of a military aspect, large mustachios and whiskers, dark complexion and eyes, a bold but agreeable countenance, and of robust form.

On the 31st of July, her majesty received the address from the borough of Ilchester, which in point of literary talent, is evidently the production of a superior mind. Our limits will not permit us to transcribe it, but her majesty felt the force of it by the sentiments expressed by her in the following answer:

I return my grateful thanks to the inhabitants of the borough of Ilchester and its vicinity, for an address in which so much affection is manifested for my person, so much zeal for my rights, and so much sympathy for my sufferings.

My late beloved daughter well knew her mother's injuries; and her noble nature made them her own. Over her untimely end, if I wept as a parent, the whole nation mourned

like an individual. The grief was one and the same in all. Every man felt as if he had lost a friend ; and that friend his solace in the passing day, and his hope in the time that was to come.

When I call to mind the form of his late majesty, oppressed with afflictions, and bending with age, I ought not, perhaps, to lament over that event which put an end to his sufferings, and made him exchange his earthly crown for a crown more permanent. But my gratitude will not suffer me to forget that his majesty was my protector in adversity ; and my heart, still sorrowing, tells me that that protector is no more.

I should, even according to the confession of my accusers, have been guilty of no sin if I had never revisited this country ; that was my great transgression, and that has been rendered more inexpiable by this circumstance—that I no sooner came than the affections of the people all circled round their queen.

If to possess the affections of the people be a proof of guilt, how can I ever show that I am innocent ? Could I prevent, or was I to try to prevent, the stream of popular sympathy from running forcibly in favour of majesty insulted, and of integrity reviled ? If the nation could have contemplated the many wrongs I have experienced, and the greater wrongs with which I am threatened, with severe indifference, or with sluggish apathy, it would not have been composed of men and women ; it would have been constituted of beings without sensibility or intelligence. But the British people are made of better materials. No nation has more right reason, or more good feeling ; and this is a truth of which I can never be unconscious as long as one particle of life is streaming in my veins.

After the deputation withdrew, her majesty went to North-street, Finsbury-square, to view

the school, called the Royal Institution, for 1,000 boys and 300 girls, of which the Duke and Duchess of Kent were patrons. Her majesty expressed the most lively satisfaction at the order and regularity which pervaded the establishment, and the interesting appearance of the children, for whom she left a liberal donation.

The same day two of her majesty's witnesses arrived from Milan, one of whom performed the journey in the short period of six days. We are assured, upon the most undoubted authority, that her majesty experiences great difficulty in bringing to this country the witnesses necessary for her defence.—The governor of Milan states, that he cannot give passports to any witnesses, except those who may have belonged to her majesty's household, without previously sending to Vienna for authority. Thus the defence of the Queen of England is made to depend upon the will and pleasure of the Emperor of Austria.

The board of works began on the 31st of July to make arrangements for the alterations in the interior of the House of Lords, for the accommodation of the peers during the trial of the queen. Mr. Soane, architect to this board, together with some lords of the committee, and Sir T. Tyrwhitt, were in attendance. All the peers' benches have been removed into the king's robing-room; the woolsacks have been covered, and the new throne is being enclosed, preparatory to the workmen beginning to raise a gallery on each side of the

house for the extra accommodation of their lordships. These two galleries will be high enough to enable peers to pass to their seats underneath them. The lords' seats in the body of the house will be restored to their former stations, and in their previous order ; but some extension of them at the upper end of the house, on each side of the throne, is only at present contemplated. The partition at the lower end of the house, called the Bar, is to remain as it is ; but portions of it will be separated from the space allotted to "strangers," to accommodate the counsel, agents, solicitors, witnesses, &c., according to the plan pursued in the investigation of the Berkeley peerage. The accommodation to be afforded to the queen was not finally arranged.

During the adjournment of parliament a good deal of correspondence took place between her majesty's advisers and Lord Liverpool, on the subject of a town residence for her majesty. Her majesty pointed out one in St. James's-square, another in South Audley-street, that of the Duke of Cambridge, which he was at this time about to quit on his return to Hanover, and some others, to all of which some objection was raised by his majesty's ministers. On the other hand, other houses were proposed to her majesty, but which it was well known would be rejected, before the offer was made.

In the mean time her majesty was by no means idle in regard to the arrangement necessary for

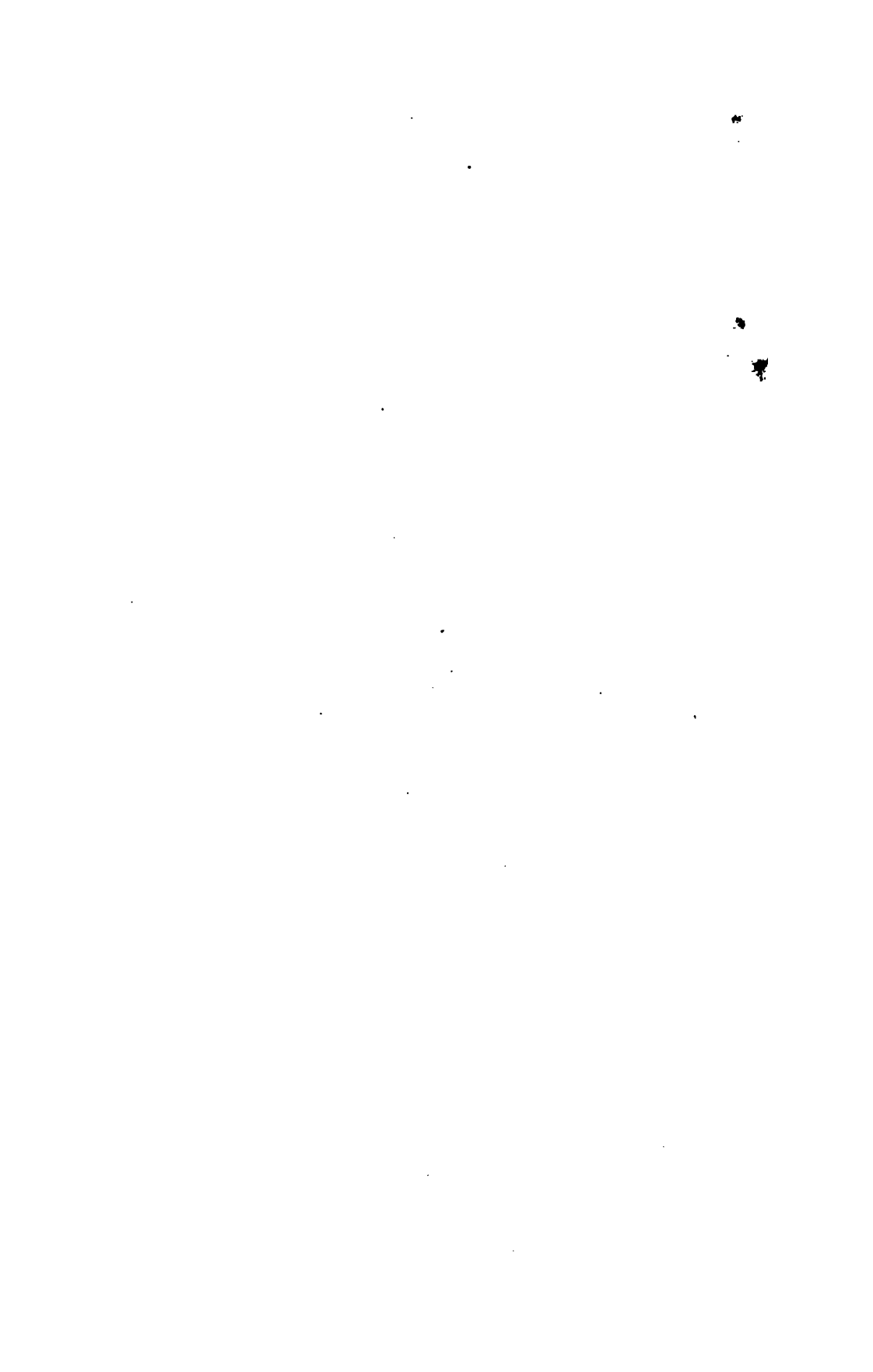


her approaching trial. She despatched Mr. Henry, a barrister of some eminence, and conversant with the Italian language, to Italy, in order to select her majesty's witnesses, and it was understood that every facility would be afforded to him by the government of this country. It must, however, be observed, that no witness can depart from Milan without a passport from the Austrian government, and, judging from the side which that power has espoused in this momentous proceeding, some alarm is excited, that a refusal of the passport may be made to certain individuals, and thus the ends of justice may be defeated, and her majesty prevented from rebutting the evidence which is brought against her.

Her majesty also made the necessary preparations for going down to the house of peers, during what may be termed her trial, in a manner consistent with her rank and dignity. A new and splendid carriage was ordered to be built without delay, with appropriate harness for six horses, and in this equipage it is the intention of her majesty to go daily to the house of peers, attended by her servants in state liveries.

Previously to her majesty setting out on the 1st of August, to visit some charitable institutions, in company with Alderman Wood, she received an address from the inhabitants of Sunderland, to which her majesty returned the following answer :

I am greatly obliged to the loyal inhabitants of Sunder-





land and its vicinity, for their cordial congratulations upon my accession to the high dignity of queen consort of these realms; and for the generous zeal which they express in favour of my lawful rights, and my personal happiness.

A foul conspiracy against my honour and my life has been prosecuted for many years; and seems at present to be reaching the very climax of iniquity. Originating in this country, it long endeavoured to effect its purpose by all the fraud and falsehood it could procure here; and when that failed, it determined to overwhelm me with infamy, by bringing a mass of perjury from the continent.

Every person who can reflect upon the consequences of passing events, or who can read the danger of the future in the dark aspect of the present, must be convinced that the public welfare is, at this moment, intimately identified with the preservation of my rights and dignities as the royal consort of his majesty. General tyranny usually begins with individual oppression. If the highest subject in the realm can be deprived of her rank and title—can be divorced, dethroned, and debased, by an act of arbitrary power, in the form of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, the constitutional liberty of the kingdom will be shaken to its very base. The rights of the nation will be only a scattered wreck, and this once free people like the meanest of slaves, must submit to the lash of an insolent domination.

For several days past it had been understood that her majesty would take up her residence at Brandenburg-house. From various causes her departure had been postponed, but Thursday the 3d was fixed positively for her majesty to leave the metropolis. At an early hour on Thursday morning, Portman-street was in consequence filled with carriages and persons anxious to see her majesty

before she quitted the capital. At about two o'clock, the hour at which it was supposed her majesty would take her departure, the crowd opposite the house was excessive, and loud cries of "God save the queen! God bless her majesty!" were heard from every quarter. The queen was graciously pleased, on two several occasions, to show herself at the balcony, and bowed condescendingly to the people. A short time after two o'clock it was understood that her majesty had altered her determination, and, in consequence of the indisposition of Lady Anne Hamilton, had postponed her visit to Brandenburg-house until Saturday following. The consequence was, that some part of the crowd dispersed. We understand that the carriage was actually counter-ordered, and that a person was about to be sent down to Hammersmith to postpone the preparations. At nearly three o'clock Mr. Alderman Wood arrived on horseback, and was greeted with loud huzzas. Soon after his arrival, a servant was despatched to order the carriage to be got in readiness, her majesty having determined not to disappoint the expectations of the inhabitants of Hammersmith. At this moment the street was completely thronged with persons, some of them of the highest respectability, anxious to pay their respects to her majesty. Many ladies of rank attended in their carriages, and gentlemen on horseback awaited the appearance of her majesty. At length, at nearly four o'clock, her majesty's

carriage drew up to the door; it was an entirely new elegant open carriage, drawn by four beautiful bay horses; the near leader was mounted by a postillion: the livery was scarlet, trimmed with gold lace. On the pannels of the carriage was painted a crown, and underneath, the letters "C. R." In about ten minutes her majesty made her appearance at the door of her house, and was immediately handed into the carriage. Her majesty seemed to be in high spirits, and looked remarkably well: she was dressed in a dove-coloured petisse, with a hat of the same colour, surmounted by a very handsome plume of white feathers. Lady Anne Hamilton next made her appearance, and was followed by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Alderman Wood. Loud cries of "God save the queen!" accompanied with shouts of approbation, filled the air. The carriage drove off at a fast trot into Oxford-street, followed by a great concourse of persons. It proceeded through the park, and out at Kensington-gate. In consequence of a mizzling rain which fell at this time, the carriage, which was previously open, was closed, and it continued shut during the remainder of the way to Hammersmith. The road was completely lined in many parts with people; ladies were seen from every window, waving white handkerchiefs, and crying "God save the queen." At the barracks at Kensington we observed a great number of the military join in the general shout: they took off their hats, and waved them in the air as

her majesty passed. When her majesty arrived at Hammersmith, the scene was extremely interesting. All were prepared to receive her majesty, and the little charity children, dressed in their Sunday clothes, were stationed near the church, to welcome her majesty's arrival. Before the carriage reached Hammersmith, a body of gentlemen on horseback, with white favours in their hats, came to meet her majesty, and they were greeted with loud cheers. They accompanied the carriage until it reached Brandenburg-house. The town of Hammersmith was completely filled, and on the arrival of the queen the cheers were so vehement as to have a deafening effect; guns were discharged, and the bells of the church were rung. Her majesty most condescendingly bowed to the people as she passed. The carriage proceeded immediately to Brandenburg-house, and drove through the great gate at the grand entrance up the avenue of trees to the front of the mansion. Her majesty, Lady Anne Hamilton, and Mr. Alderman Wood and Dr. Lushington, then alighted. The carriage was followed by two or three others filled with ladies of rank, who were desirous of paying their respects to her majesty. Her majesty dined at Brandenburg-house, and did not return in the evening.

In the course of the evening a great number of the houses in the town were illuminated with variegated lamps, torches, and candles; guns of various sorts were discharged, and especially on

the river, adjoining the grounds of Brandenburg-house, which was covered with boats.

Previously to her departure for Brandenburg-house, her majesty received an address from the borough of Lewes, to which the following answer was given :

The high-constable, burgesses, and other inhabitants of the ancient borough of Lewes, are requested to accept my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate address. My heart is in perfect unison with the expressions which they use in their topics of condolence. I felt the loss of his late venerable majesty to be, indeed, irreparable ; for he stood like the angel of mercy between me and persecuting cruelty. The untimely end of the late beloved Princess Charlotte seemed, for a moment, to throw the shadow of death over the land. The voice of merriment was mute in our streets ; and the gaiety of the nation suffered a temporary eclipse. It was the unbought tribute of loyalty, the spontaneous offering of love in thousands—nay, in millions, to those bright properties of the mind, and those tender qualities of the heart, in which the people read a cheering presage of her glory, and of the public happiness.

The machinations of my enemies are supported by a faction, that has long operated like a canker-worm upon the noble trunk of the national prosperity. If I would have stooped to become an instrument in their hands, or to have lent myself to their sordid purposes, I might have averted their vengeance, or have neutralised their hostility. In the year 1807, this faction were eager to make use of my power as the means of gratifying their ambition : and when their ambition could not be gratified by other means, they immediately sacrificed my honour and my rights upon the altar of their selfishness.



That calm wisdom which is the result at once of reflection and of experience, teaches me that I ought never to give my sanction to the narrow views of any sect, or to the interested projects of any party. That comprehensive charity which kindles in my heart shall be visible in my conduct ; and I will never forget that the queen of a faction is only half a queen. The good of a faction is only the good of a few : but the good which I cherish is that of the community.

The queen's replies to the addresses of her subjects, became now the general theme of invective by the hangers-on of ministers. In all these answers her majesty continued to express her confidence in the affections of her people, and solemnly to assert her innocence of the infamous crimes which have been imputed to her. These documents, or as they may be more properly denominated, the state-papers of her majesty, are occasionally characterized by solemn warnings of the fatal consequences which may result to the country, if upon a mere shew of justice, she shall be deprived of those dignities to which by her rank, she is so justly entitled. It cannot have escaped the observation of our readers that the queen, in some of her recent acknowledgments for public addresses, has thrown out hints at the motives which she suspects to have actuated one or two of her quondam counsellors and present accusers. This has put the daily advocates of ministers beside themselves, and it will never be forgiven. By them the queen is reproached

for using strong language when she speaks of the charges brought against her, and of the evidence by which alone they can, in her opinion, be upheld. Now let us ask any one of the honest matrons of all ranks throughout this country, who value virtue far more than life, and reputation next to virtue, how she would feel, aye, and how she would express herself if she were put upon her trial for crimes which she abhorred? If conscious of that innocence which the law assumes, and which she herself asserts to be untainted, is there a lady in this land of moral and exemplary women, who, in reply to the affectionate confidence of her friends, would not disdain to keep measures with her assailants? Is there a virtuous Englishwoman living, who would hesitate at repelling with every mark of inextinguishable scorn and disgust, a charge so heinous as adultery? Well, then, the queen loudly proclaims her innocence; she alleges that fraudulent and wicked means have been taken to ransack the dregs of a depraved community for materials by which to bolster up this charge. The queen must know best her own guilt or innocence; if knowing the latter, she has a right—she is bound—to assert it. The very assertion of her innocence is a direct condemnation of the means by which it has been impugned. Unless her majesty were to use ironical terms—to say of her prosecutors that they were “well-meaning, but mistaken, men”—and of the witnesses that “they might be very honest people, whose senses

or imaginations had in some perverse manner deceived them;"—unless she resorted to such figures of speech, she must either confess herself guilty of adultery, or, in averring her own purity, pronounce that the prosecution is iniquitous, and that the witnesses are forsworn. In common justice to the queen, we insist that she, as the party prosecuted, has a right to use such language; and much more so, when it is taken into consideration that she has petitioned and protested, over and over again, against the course of measures pursued by her adversaries, which in her judgment take away from her the chance of a fair trial, and leave her no refuge but in her appeals to mankind at large, to her own innocence, and to Heaven.

We now proceed to lay two documents before our readers, relating to the unhappy question between their majesties. These documents have imparted fresh splendor to the illustrious name of Russell, but the matter contained in them, would be enough to distinguish from the vulgar herd any individual, however obscure in fortune, who had no title to eminence, but from them alone. The first of these documents, is a letter from Lord J. Russell to Mr. Wilberforce; the second is in the form of a petition to his majesty. Both productions unite, in an extraordinary degree, deep feeling with accurate reasoning. The feeling, indeed, is of a nature which men of all parties must subscribe to, since it is one of serious alarm for the existence at least for the

peace of the country, let the pending trial of the queen result in her condemnation or acquittal.

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LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO MR. WILBERFORCE.

*Tunbridge-wells, Aug. 3, 1820.*

SIR,—I address to you a public letter, because you are a public man on whom much depends. Although I generally differ with you in politics, I warmly admire your generous efforts for the welfare of mankind, and I believe you capable of doing at this moment a great benefit to your country. For this reason I communicate to you, in the form of a petition to the king, my sentiments on the one subject of the present day. The whigs, as you well know, have no power whatever. It is useless for them to originate any thing. If they move in part, they are defeated by a ministerial majority: if they attend public meetings, it is said they are endeavouring to bring about a revolution, and new laws to restrain freedom are immediately enacted. But you, sir, and some others, whose support is the sole strength of administration, are bound to interfere if they bate any thing of the wisdom and prudence which you attribute to their general conduct.

In the following paper I have given no opinion on the guilt or innocence of the queen. I regret and disapprove of the measure of leaving her majesty's name out of the Liturgy—I regret, though I cannot severely blame, the language of many of the addresses that have been presented to her.

I do not wish to prejudge a question of which we know nothing. I have also omitted many topics that might have been insisted upon, you are perfectly aware of the nature of the discussions that will take place, and the temper in which they will be met. In your hands is, perhaps, sir, the fate

of this country. The future historian will ask, whether it was right to risk the welfare of England—her boasted constitution—her national power—on the event of an inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, in her villa upon the lake of Como? From the majority which followed you in the House of Commons, he will conclude you had the power to prevent the die being thrown. He will ask, if you wanted the inclination?

I remain, your faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN RUSSELL.

*The humble Petition of ——— to his Majesty the King.*

We, your majesty's most dutiful and obedient subjects, approach your majesty with feelings of the deepest anxiety and the most profound respect, but at the same time with a firm conviction of the uprightness of our intentions, to address your majesty on the subject of her majesty the queen.

Were the conduct of the queen a 'private matter, were it a subject that concerned your majesty alone, we should be the last persons to intrude with our advice, or to delay the trial of the queen's conduct a single instant. But your majesty has nobly shown that you consider it a matter of public import: your majesty has proved, by offers of an amicable arrangement, that you were ready to allow a queen charged with a total abandonment of her duty still to retain the title of your wife, and to be notified as such to the powers of Europe. It was only when the queen landed in England, that your majesty interfered on behalf of the public interests and the public morals of the country, and sent down to your Houses of Parliament the information which had been received respecting her majesty's conduct abroad.

To your majesty, therefore, it would be superfluous,

and consequently indecorous, to urge that persons of your exalted station are not raised to such eminent rank for the purpose of involving their subjects in all their domestic differences; but, viewing this difficult question as your majesty has viewed it—namely, as a matter of state—we must be permitted to express our doubts whether your majesty has been wisely advised to bring it forward at all. It appears that your majesty's servants have thought right to proceed against the queen by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Far be it from us to canvass whether any proceeding could have been instituted in the Ecclesiastical or other courts, or whether the queen could have been constitutionally impeached. We bow to the decision of the great law authorities by whom the throne is surrounded; and we conclude, that as no method of trial known to the ordinary tribunals, nor even the extraordinary mode of impeachment, has been adopted, that a bill was the only proceeding that could reach the offence of the queen. But we cannot disguise from ourselves that a bill inflicting penalties ought in very few cases indeed to be resorted to. If impeachment has been likened to Goliath's sword, which should only be brought out of the temple on solemn occasions, how much more is this observation true of single laws made for a single case, which at once create the offence, regulate the proof, decide upon the evidence, and invent the punishment—a mode of criminal conviction so anomalous, and so fearfully liable to injustice, as to have been censured and rejected by many of the most enlightened men of ancient and modern times—not writing in the heat of blood, but placing beacons to guide states and empires in the right course of legislation\*. Without yielding to their arguments, we may be permitted

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\* *Leges in priros homines nolunt ferri: id enim est privilegium; quo quid est injustius?—Cicero.* See also *Paley*.

to observe, that, when the parliament of England has enacted laws against individuals, it has usually been either when the accused person fled from trial, as in the cases of the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Bolingbroke—or when a sudden insurrection and invasion to change the dynasty were apprehended—or when peculiar circumstances occurred, as in the case of Sir John Fenwick, who, after a bill was found against him by a grand jury, defrauded justice by a pretended contrition; and, abusing the lenity of the law and the mercy of his prosecutors, bribed one of the witnesses against him to go abroad. But in this case what is the reason for a Bill of Pains and Penalties? Has the queen fled from justice? Is there a paramount state necessity for punishment? Are there any circumstances leading us to suppose that justice will be defrauded if this bill does not pass? That the queen has not fled from justice is not only the admission, but forms one of the chief charges of her prosecutors. This point, therefore, requires no proof. Is there then a paramount state necessity? We confess we are unable to perceive it. The queen, it is well known, has for many years unhappily been separated from your majesty, and during the last six years, indeed, has resided out of this country. It is impossible, therefore, for any sober-minded man to maintain that there is a danger lest the succession of the crown be tainted. As little, or nearly as little, is there any danger for the future. The great point of the succession then—the only one on which the conduct of the queen is of paramount interest to the state—is not affected. Even if we go a step further, and inquire whether the behaviour of the queen has affected the public morals of England? To this question, also, we must reply in the negative. The queen has been several years resident abroad. Whether, as her enemies affirm, her life was licentious—or whether, as her friends stoutly maintain, she upheld her

royal character—the influence of her example could extend only to the inhabitants of Como or of Athens. To the wives and daughters of England she was extinct—removed from their sphere of action, as effectually as if she had been dead—and to their ears the details of her domestic life, the scandal tales of her neighbours and her servants, the scenes of immorality which are alleged to have happened, are now, for the first time, to be revealed by the inquiry your majesty has been advised to set on foot.

If then there is no paramount necessity, nor even a *prima facie* case of policy, for proceeding against the queen by bill, let us next inquire whether the ends of justice will be defeated if this bill does not pass? It is difficult to say they would. If the law of England has made no provision for trying a queen on a charge of immoral conduct abroad, the reason is probably to be found in the conclusion we have just made, that such conduct does not seriously affect the state. But, on the other hand, we are compelled to represent, that the ends of justice may be grossly defeated by the passing of the bill now pending in Parliament. For what, let us humbly ask, is the situation of the queen? Separated from her husband during the first year of her marriage, she has been forced out of that circle of domestic duties and domestic affections, which alone are of power to keep a wife holy and safe from evil. For the period to which the accusation extends she has been also removed from the control of public opinion—the best remaining check this world can afford upon female behaviour. Many women, unhappily, there are in England, who have abandoned husbands warmly attached to them, and a large family of children dependent upon them for maternal care; but not one has yet been exposed to such an ordeal, or threatened with such a disgrace, as the queen. Is it just (may we ask?) that an offence deserving of peculiar indulgence should be visited with extraordinary severity?



Much distrust, it must also be manifest, will attach to the witnesses. It is well known (without undue prejudice we may say it), that the standard of morality for female conduct is not so high in Italy as it is in England; and the consequence is, that a ready belief is given to any story, however improbable, which affects the honour of a woman. Again, the witnesses do not give evidence in their own country; and their character in their own neighbourhood is not at stake. If persons of some rank in England have accused the queen falsely, what may we not expect from the stray servants of an Italian town—from the *jetsam* and *jetsam* of a licentious people—from the eaves-droppers of the whole continent, solicited and brought together by an emissary of the British court, who is even now ransacking the Milanese for evidence against the queen?

There are other circumstances tending to pollute the stream of justice in this high matter. It is not in human nature (say the suspicious) that, in voting on a bill some of that political affection which the House of Lords may entertain should not enter into the decision. On a judicial proceeding men vote on their own judgment: on a law they often vote from confidence in the judgment of others. And in whom do the House of Peers generally place their confidence? In the men who have advised your majesty to bring forward this sorrowful business—in the same men who brought down the information as accusers—in the same men who examined it in a secret committee, styling themselves grand jurors—in the same men who are about to decide on the conduct of the queen, and their own characters, for a third time, in the character of judges. There are other circumstances:—the prejudging of the case, by leaving the queen out of the Liturgy—the casting her out from all royal honours, even before any charge was made—the refusal of a list of witnesses, and of a specification of the charges;—in short, there are circumstances without number,

which show an unfair bias in the minds of her powerful and almost resistless judges.

What has been the consequence? A feeling as universal as the air, that the queen is to be oppressed, and not to be tried—a feeling so generous, that there are none but must applaud its spirit. To those who provoked it belong the results. Those results must be, that if the queen is acquitted, no man can say how far her triumph may rise, or how low the monarchy may sink: if she is condemned, a general feeling of indignation will pervade the people, and your majesty will lose, in the first year of your reign, the best part of your inheritance—the hearts of your subjects.

We cannot forget that an example is about to be given for the degradation of a queen. We see in the bill, that to mark this more strongly, the degradation is made to precede the divorce; none are more convinced than we are of the right of Parliament to alter the succession of the crown: none respect more than we do the Act of Settlement, which took away the crown from the hereditary successors, and gave it to the House of Brunswick. But we are not for uncrowning a royal head without necessity: we see much to alarm us in the example—nothing to console us in the immediate benefit.

Why then—and this is the end we humbly aim at—why should Queen Caroline be prosecuted at all as long as she behaves with propriety in this country? From her future conduct your majesty and the nation will be enabled to judge whether the reports from Milan were well founded, or whether they were the offspring of curiosity and malice. If the former, the nation will be at once supplied with a reason for inquiry, and deprived of much of its sympathy; if, on the other hand, the queen's conduct bears the test, your majesty will have cause to rejoice that you have saved her from humiliation, and preserved her from a sentence which must destroy in her all shame, and extinguish for

ever the care of her reputation. For these reasons it would have been in our view more consistent with good morals and with humanity if your majesty's ministers, when they first heard the sinister reports from Italy, instead of offering the queen a large income to stay abroad, had offered her an increase of revenue to return home. Nor must it be forgotten that your majesty has already the power of inflicting a severe punishment. Your majesty has the prerogative (and it is one with which the House of Commons refused to interfere) of excluding the queen from your palace and your court. This must be a severe, it might be an unjust, sentence on any woman; but on the queen it bears with peculiar weight. The splendour of her rank—the attendant pomp of majesty—the pre-eminence of her station above all other females, are taken away and annulled at once by the simple pleasure of your majesty. All who look for court preferment—all who are ambitious of the king's regard—all who fly to the side of power—all who are bound by office—desert the queen, with a doubt or a question on her behaviour. Her only resource is to unite a few friends about her, and to live without ostentation, without homage, without authority. But in addition to this, if she forfeited her reputation by her conduct, all women who have a regard for their own characters would instantly leave her: she would receive no favour in this respect. Is your majesty not satisfied? With all the interested passions against her—with all the virtue of the ladies of Queen Charlotte's court on the watch to take alarm—could not your majesty safely leave the queen with the weight of suspicion about her, in the midst of the society of England? Can there be a more painful situation? Can there be a more difficult trial? If the habits of the queen be in reality as degrading as the bill represents them, what can she dread more than to live in the moral atmosphere of England?

.. We have endeavoured to make it apparent to your ma-

jesty that the act by which it is proposed to degrade the queen is not necessary to the state—that, on the contrary, it will be, to use the words of the House of Commons, “disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory to the honour of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.” We also have attempted to show that another course is open. In recommending your majesty to abstain from further proceedings, we give no opinion on the merits of the case. We do not ask your majesty to retract any opinion you have formed: we merely ask your majesty to decline putting the queen on the hard task of defending herself against foreign rumours, springing up in the course of six years, and nursed into importance by a commission sent from England for the purpose.

Your majesty, we know full well, is too generous and too magnanimous to put any inclination of your own in the balance against the real welfare of your people. That welfare requires repose. During the last year the conflict of passions brought our country to the verge of civil war. A new subject is the only thing wanting to renew those passions in a more dreadful form. May your majesty not furnish the occasion! Already the loyal bodies who address the queen are called “Radicals;” those who accuse her are styled “Persecutors and Calumniators.” By a single word your majesty may dispel the impending storm. We, therefore, humbly pray your majesty that you will be pleased to issue orders to prorogue the Parliament, and thus put an end to all proceedings at present pending against the queen

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

On the 2d of August, an address was presented to her majesty from Berwick-upon-Tweed by Lord Ossulston, to which the following answer was returned:

For this loyal and affectionate address, I feel deeply indebted to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed. The ravage which death has made amongst my nearest and most beloved relatives, since I left England, has furnished many arduous trials for my resignation and my fortitude. It is my duty to submit, without festfulness or impatience, to these and to heavier afflictions; if I have still heavier to endure.

My many sorrows have been mingled with an infusion of joy, by the enthusiastic delight with which the people hailed my arrival from the continent. I had been so long absent from England, and so artfully reviled in my absence, that it was supposed I should never return. My return operated like a flash of lightning upon the public mind. Those whom the accumulated slanders of my enemies had caused to hesitate about my rectitude, were instantly struck with conviction of my integrity. But while my friends exulted with joy, my enemies turned pale with apprehension. The consciousness of their own guilt was aggravated by the irresistible feeling of my innocence. They exhibited a singular picture of malice rendered impotent, and of rage becoming desperate.

When my enemies found that they could not operate upon my disinterestedness by a bribe, they attempted to shake my courage by a threat. But I derive from the bounty of Heaven, a mind that is at once superior to the calculations of avarice, and to the impressions of fear.

If I am a subject, I am a subject in a state of immediate proximity to the sovereign; and certainly I ought not to be placed in a less favourable situation than that of the most humble individual. Every subject, whatever may be his condition or his rank, is entitled to a fair and open trial, by which his guilt or his innocence may be legally established. To me, such a trial is refused. My demand for it has hitherto been answered only by Green Bags, which perjury

has filled, or by Secret Inquisitions, over which malice presides. Every other subject has the benefit of an impartial jury; and he may object to a certain number of jurors, whom he may know, or believe to be hostile to himself, or partial to his adversary. Can I object to any of my numerous judges and jurors? What individual is there who could expect an impartial trial where his adversary could influence the majority of his judges, either by the fear of loss, or the hope of gain; either by good in possession, or in expectancy?—But are my judges alone without human infirmities? I leave the question to be answered by those, who know what man is; or who have calmly observed the late proceedings in the House of Lords.

The following description of the arrangements made for the Italian witnesses against her majesty, will be perused with peculiar interest, as it shews a system of caution in regard to witnesses, which has not its precedent in the annals of this country.

The houses in Cotton-garden, occupied by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Mr. Ley, and the other officers of the House of Lords, were the places appointed for the use of the Italian witnesses against the queen. The occupants were compelled to remove, and their quitting on such short notice produced no little bustle and confusion. Cotton-garden is situate at the rear of the western angle of the House of Lords, to which it is approached by a narrow passage from the eastern end of Abingdon-street. A situation more completely retired, and more convenient for ingress and egress to the interior of the House of Lords, can-

not be conceived. It was therefore most judiciously chosen by ministers for the seat of the Italian witnesses, and at the same time furnishes a complete answer to that part of the argument against the queen's request for a list of the witnesses to be produced against her majesty, founded upon the danger of exposing them, if known, to tampering and intimidation. Cotton-garden is also the site of the newly-constructed kitchens, sculleries, and other edifices necessary for furnishing the grand dinner in Westminster-hall on the ensuing coronation. These works were soon completed, and all further access to the scene was entirely cut off. The long flagged passage from the western end of the House of Lords, by which the Westminster scholars have the privilege of access to their boats on the river, was also blocked up by order of government.

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Mr. Ley, Mrs. Goods and some of Mr. Bellamy's servants, who occupied apartments under the long gallery, have entirely removed from them. The houses of Sir Thomas and Mr. Ley, were fitted up apparently for the reception of personages somewhat above the ordinary rank. They are to be exclusively occupied by the witnesses of a more respectable rank in life, who are brought over to support the allegations in the bill. The furniture in them is of that description which is used in a private gentleman's house. It was entirely new, and consists of Brussel's carpets, neat mahogany chairs, four-

post bedsteads, with fine cotton hangings, ornamented mirrors, several services of ware, among them the best plain courses of Wedgwood, the kitchens well stocked with culinary articles, and the cellars with wines of various descriptions. Including the conveniencies provided in the two houses we have mentioned, there was bedding fitted up for the use of upwards of one hundred persons, and this accommodation was provided in a more comfortable manner than it can generally be obtained by the more humble classes of society.

The temporary buildings in Cotton-yard, which are not set apart for the operation of the cooking apparatus, were filled with good plain feather-beds and matrasses, about seven or eight in each division or ward, with sheets, blankets, and the greater part with white coverlids. They are all laid upon bedsteads, but of various forms—four-post, tent, and press bedsteads, are all in requisition. On Thursday and Friday the 10th and 11th, the most material part of the accommodation—the provisions—were lodged in the different store-rooms, and, as if the intention was to keep the stock on hand a secret from any hungry fellows who might be induced from without to storm the fortress, none of it was supplied by the tradesmen usually employed in the neighbourhood. It came from strangers, who mostly resided out of Westminster, and was brought in suddenly and unexpectedly. There were several barrels of beef,



a quantity of pork and bacon, eggs in abundance flour, and a large quantity of groceries. One large dray came from the country laden with ale; and on Saturday the 12th the whole stock for the accommodation of the witnesses, who will have no reason to complain of our hospitality at least, whatever else they may lament, was completed and distributed in the different parts of Cotton-yard, according to the general arrangement. The eating too begun on Friday evening, eleven foreigners having been landed out of a boat at Parliament-stairs, and immediately conducted into the general apartments where the accommodation, *en masse*, is provided. They were the following day seen parading about the yard, dressed in foreign cut jackets and small leather travelling caps. They appeared to be young men, and some of them had a military air. Most of the windows which overlooked the yard are fastened down, and the apartments to which they belong kept locked. All external communication with Cotton-yard was closed on the 12th, and strong doors, iron bound, fixed up at the extremity of the avenue, opposite Henry the 7th's chapel which led to Mr. Hatsell's house. Ingress from Parliament-stairs was then effectually obviated, by a brick wall and a strong timber partition; fortunately for the arrangements this was holiday time with the Westminster boys, or else the juvenile pranks of resisting supposed encroachments, would doubtless be played off with the old West-

minster spirit; for this passage to the water has been so universally used by the boys of the school, as almost to constitute for them a legal right of way.

The only entrance now to Cotton-yard from the water, [there is none from the adjoining street, except a small passage to the house of Mr. Reeves, the magistrate, and another private gentleman's next to it] is by a new causeway, which projects from Mr. Hatsell's house down to low water mark in the Thames; a flight of steps unite the causeway with the shore, at which place there is a wooden barrier, in which a gate opens to the side wall of Mr. Hatsell's house. This gate, as well as that which bars the other extremity of the passage facing Henry the 7th's chapel, will be strongly watched and guarded: even the foreign witnesses are not permitted to be landed from the river side without a previous order from the office of the Home Department, and the attendance of a confidential person from the Alien-office to recognise the attendant from that office, who conducts the witnesses to their quarters in Cotton-yard. Two boats laden with these new visitors arrived at the place of their destination, on Saturday the 12th, and the witnesses seemed very cheerful and well pleased with the ample preparations for their accommodation and protection. The contrast which both the place and the fare presented to their cheerless reception some time ago in Dover, and at the Inn, in Bishopsgate,

appeared to afford them the most comfortable confidence. The whole of the witnesses, save two or three, whose attendance is contingent were mustered in Cotton-yard, on Monday the 14th.

Arrangements, before then, were made to exclude the possibility of a glimpse at that place—both the witnesses and their quarters will be, as it were, hermetically sealed from the public eye, and every crevice will be so stopped up as to prevent the slightest glance which could by possibility be caught by the most prying curiosity. The witnesses will, as they are wanted, be conducted to the House of Lords through a covered passage alongside Mr. Hatsell's house, and the painted chamber; these avenues will conduct them to the side passage of the House of Lords, and from thence it is thought they will be led into the house, not through the ordinary side door for strangers, but through the folding doors by which the members of the House of Commons carry up their bills. A number of cooks from Hampton-court, Windsor, and other court residences, arrived on Sunday, and the following day, to superintend the culinary offices.

Her majesty now constantly resided at Brandenburgh-house. Upon her first arrival at this mansion, her majesty was waited upon by a gentleman, who, in the most serious manner, entreated that she would not remain there for a single night, for that he had the strongest reasons

to believe an attempt would be made to carry her off, by water, to some place of secrecy. Her majesty treated this information with great indifference, and seemed to think that the zeal of her informant had induced him to stretch his imagination beyond the bounds of probability. Her scepticism, however, only increased the vehemence of her adviser, and she was induced to send for Mr. Alderman Wood. The worthy alderman, like her majesty, considered the scheme as very unlikely; but, at the same time, believing that it was not impossible that there were persons capable of offering to her majesty some insult, to which the exposed state of Brandenburg-house, next the water, might afford facility, he accepted the services of several persons who proffered themselves to act as a guard during her majesty's stay, and every night since a regular watch has been kept round the house. Her majesty is herself free from all apprehensions, and reposes with perfect confidence on the affections of her people.

The attempts which were made by her majesty to obtain a suitable town residence through the means of his majesty's ministers, having failed, and the period of her trial fast approaching, her majesty was induced to accept the kind offer of Lady Francis (the widow of Sir Philip Francis), to lend her the use of her mansion in St. James's-square, during the proceedings in parliament. This mansion is situate next door to

that of Lord Castlereagh, and was soon prepared for her majesty's reception. Her majesty removed thither on Tuesday the 15th. Objections have been made to the choice of this residence from its proximity to the dwelling of an obnoxious minister, and from the necessity which it imposes on her majesty of passing the palace of the king every day, on her way to and from the House of Peers. Those who raise these objections should recollect that the acceptance of Lady Francis's offer was, on the part of her majesty, a dernier resort, and that it was in the power of his majesty's ministers to have obviated its necessity. Her majesty pointed out several other places, all of which were refused, and no satisfactory reason, it is said, assigned.

On Monday 14th, an address was presented to her majesty from the city of Canterbury, to which the following very pathetic answer was given:—

My bosom glowed with emotions of gratitude, when I read the loyal and affectionate address from the freemen and inhabitants of the ancient and metropolitan city and county of the city of Canterbury. Their sentiments of cheering congratulation upon my return to England, and of soothing condolence upon the heavy domestic afflictions I have sustained, will be indelibly imprinted on my memory through the agency of my heart.

I no sooner stepped upon the pier of Dover, after escaping from the inhospitable treatment I had experienced on the opposite shore, that I felt that, if I were assailed by the slanders of a few, I was protected by the sympathies of the many. My heart thrills with delight, and that delight

is mingled with no small portions of gratitude when I reflect the devotedness to my interest which has been so universally manifested since my return.

I left England with tears of regret ; but I no sooner saw its white cliffs rising from the ocean, than I was overpowered with emotions of joy. There, said I, if I do not find a refuge from every care, I shall at least experience sweet solace and steady support, under every attack upon my honour and my peace. The warm affections of his majesty's subjects have already made me ample compensation for all the pitiful malignity of my adversaries.

When my accusers offered to load me with wealth, on condition of depriving me of honour, my habitual disinterestedness, and my conscious integrity, made me spurn the golden lure. My enemies have not yet taught me, that wealth is desirable when it is coupled with infamy.

The manner in which the House of Lords has rejected my several reasonable petitions, has made me feel pity rather than resentment. If the honourable members of that honourable house should ever cease to respect the rights of their lawful queen, they will find that they have been weakening their own. Their rights are inseparable from those of the monarchy, and the rights of the queen are a part of our monarchical constitution.

The intelligence of the death of her royal highness the Duchess of York was conveyed to her majesty on Monday, the 7th, and was received by her with unfeigned regret. Her majesty at all times spoke of the deceased duchess in terms of strong affection. During the subsequent week her majesty declined receiving any visits of ceremony ; and, although several addresses were in readiness to be presented to her, she requested

that they might be delayed till after the funeral of her deceased relation. The whole of her majesty's household were put in deep mourning.

Pursuant to a requisition directed to the sheriff of Middlesex, a meeting was held, on the 8th, at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an address to the queen. The meeting was fixed for twelve o'clock, but at that hour very few individuals had assembled. Before one o'clock, the great room was completely filled; and the sheriff not making his appearance, much disapprobation was shewn. At half-past one o'clock Mr. Sheriff Parkins made his appearance. He was accompanied by Mr. P. Moore, Dr. Parr, Mr. S. Whitbread, Mr. Alderman Waithman, and Mr. Alderman Wood.

In compliance with the request of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, Mr. Sheriff Parkins went to the queen's residence at Brandenburgh-house, in order to ascertain when her majesty would receive the county address; when Lady Ann Hamilton being made acquainted with the nature of his visit, expressed herself doubtful whether her majesty would feel herself able to receive him, on account of the recent death of the Duchess of York.

The sheriff therefore sent in to her majesty the accompanying note, to which the queen returned a very gracious message by Lady Ann Hamilton, expressing her regret that she could not then see the sheriff, and that she would, at the earliest pos-

sible period, after the interment of the Duchess of York, appoint a day for receiving the address from the county of Middlesex.

*To her Majesty Queen Caroline.*

Sheriff Parkins has the honour to communicate, that he presided at a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the freeholders of her majesty's metropolitan and loyal county of Middlesex, held yesterday at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, convened by the sheriff, on a requisition numerously signed, for the purpose of considering an Address to her Majesty, as also to take into consideration the proceedings pending in Parliament against the queen.

Sheriff Parkins, with heartfelt satisfaction, has now the honour, officially, to inform her majesty, that a series of resolutions were unanimously passed, expressive of loyal feeling, duty, and respect for her majesty's person and honour, and that an Address to her Majesty, founded on these resolutions, was read and carried without a dissenting voice, and voted to be presented by Sheriff Parkins, the two members for the county, accompanied by a deputation of freeholders.

The sheriff humbly approaches her majesty, in compliance with the request of the freeholders, to ascertain when it will be convenient to her majesty to receive the deputation.

*August 9, 1820.*

The address from Norwich, was presented to her majesty on the day preceding the decease of the Duchess of York, and her majesty's answer was as follows :

I gratefully acknowledge my obligations to his majesty's faithful subjects, the inhabitants of the city of Norwich,



for this affectionate address. The voice of sympathy is always soothing to the ear, but it is heard with double complacency when it is known to issue from the heart. I am convinced, that in this sympathetic tribute of regard for my insulted honour, and my violated rights, the inhabitants of Norwich have expressed only those sentiments which affection breathes from their generous hearts.

The accumulated indignities which I have experienced, have had an effect quite contrary to the expectation of my enemies ; they have rendered me an object of public regard in a higher degree than I could otherwise have been. My reason approves, and my piety reveres that instinctive propensity which there is in the human heart to succour the oppressed. Of this propensity no page in history furnishes a brighter example, than that which the British people have exhibited in favour of their persecuted queen. In proportion as my enemies have endeavoured to effect my abasement, they have contributed to my exaltation. They have degraded nobody but themselves. Their malice has been my protection, and their obloquy has become my panegyric.

When my adversaries had recourse to a Bill of Pains and Penalties, they offered an involuntary testimony to my innocence ; for, if I had been guilty, my guilt might have been established by a more legal and a less circuitous process. But knowing that my integrity was my security, as long as they remained within the confines of our constitutional sanctuary, they leaped with profane daring over that sacred boundary, and are now labouring to annihilate my honour as a woman, and my dignity as a queen, by a procedure which must in its consequences be perilous to the vital interests of individual and general liberty. I am now, therefore, struggling not more for my own good, than for that of the country. The question, at this moment, is not merely whether the queen shall have her rights, but whether the

rights of any individual in the kingdom shall be free from violation.

The maxims of English jurisprudence have always, hitherto, been favourable to the accused. Perhaps my accusers, who are also to be my judges, thought that they were acting in conformity to these maxims, when, after spreading the accusations against me over a period of six years, and a space almost equal to that of a whole century, they refused any specification of the times, when, and the places where, the charges were laid, after they had previously condescended not to grant any list of the witnesses by whom these charges were to be supported. A generous enemy never commences the combat by previously wounding from his adversary every instrument of defence. But is not the conduct of my enemies a proof that they think their own cause weak and mine strong? Why else do they labour with a sort of trembling cowardice to cripple my powers of resistance? Is not this tacitly to tell the world that my integrity is their dread, and my accusation their shame?

The following account of the consequences of praying for the queen, which took place about this time, has been transmitted from Galloway, and it affords a striking example of the tolerating spirit of our northern neighbours:

"The Rev. Mr. Gillespie has for some years acted as chaplain to the Stewartry Yeomanry; and on Sunday the 13th, he preached before the corps, which was then assembled at Kirkcudbright, what has been described to us one of the most loyal and patriotic discourses ever delivered from a pulpit. In his prayer, however, after many petitions in behalf of his majesty, he

added the words, ‘ Bless also the Queen ;’ and for this high crime and misdemeanour he was, the same evening, placed under military arrest by his commanding-officer ! This proceeding has excited a strong feeling of surprise—perhaps of indignation—particularly among the members of the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, who are no strangers to the soundness of Mr. Gillespie’s political principles, and who are themselves in the general practice of praying for her majesty. How the matter will end, we know not ; but we should suppose the clergy of Scotland will be apt to view the arrest of Mr. Gillespie as an insult offered to the whole order, especially after the independence of the Kirk of Scotland on this very point—a thing, indeed, that never could be doubted—was so distinctly recognised in the last General Assembly. The chaplain of a regiment is, no doubt, bound to conform himself to the wishes of his colonel, in as far as regards time and place ; but farther than this no officer has any right to interfere ; and, it would certainly be very strange if the wise heads and bold hearts who, in imitation of John Knox, have never ceased to assert the independence of the Presbyterian form of worship, would concede to a military officer a power which cannot be claimed even by the king upon the throne. We also understand that a yeomanry corps are only under martial law when called into active service, and that consequently no chaplain is liable to be

arrested when the corps in which he happens to officiate, is merely assembled for the purpose of training. If this view of the subject be correct, it follows that Mr. Gillespie was illegally arrested. Besides, it is quite obvious that the zeal of the colonel alluded to must, in the end, defeat its own purpose. A reverend gentleman in the same neighbourhood, noted for his talents and loyalty, when asked whether he ever prayed for the queen? replied, 'No; but I shall certainly do so the moment I am interdicted;' and several other clergymen, we understand, who had previously abstained from praying for her majesty, have since commenced the practice, with the express view of repelling what they conceive to be a practical encroachment on the liberty of the church."

The following letter from her majesty, which is dated August 7th, was sent by the queen's messenger early in the morning of the 8th, to the cottage at Windsor, accompanied with a note to Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, written by the queen, desiring Sir Benjamin to deliver it immediately to the king. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield being then absent, the letter was received by Sir William Keppel, who forwarded it immediately to Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, at Carlton-house, who returned it in the afternoon of the 8th to the queen, informing her majesty that he had received the king's commands and general instructions, that any communications that might be made should

pass through the channel of his majesty's government. The queen immediately despatched a messenger with the letter to Lord Liverpool, desiring his lordship to lay it before his majesty. Lord Liverpool was at Combe-wood. He returned an answer that he would lose no time in laying it before the king. On the 11th, no reply having been received, the queen wrote again to Lord Liverpool, requesting information whether any further communication would be made on the subject of the latter to his majesty. Lord Liverpool wrote the same day from Combe-wood that he had not received the king's commands to make any communication to her majesty in consequence of her letter.

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#### THE QUEEN'S LETTER TO THE KING.

SIR,

After the unparalleled and unprovoked prosecution which during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your majesty—and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting—it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I now, even in the way of remonstrance, bring myself to address this letter to your majesty. But, bearing in mind that royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal, and hitherto unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your majesty,

in the hope that the justice which your majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful, and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honour and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquillity of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppression and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws.

A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; that the separation, so far from being sought for by me, was a sentence pronounced upon me, without any cause assigned, other than that of your own inclinations, which, as your majesty was pleased to allege, were not under your control.

Not to have felt, with regard to myself, chagrin at this decision of your majesty, would have argued great insensibility to the obligations of decorum; not to have dropped a tear in the face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows were then but too easy to foresee, would have marked me as unworthy of the name of mother; but, not to have submitted to it without repining, would have indicated a consciousness of demerit, or a want of those feelings which belong to affronted and insulted female honour.

The "tranquil and comfortable society" tendered to me by your majesty formed, in my mind, but a poor compensation for the grief occasioned by considering the wound given to public morals in the fatal example produced by the indulgence of your majesty's inclinations; more especially

when I contemplated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union, who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

But, alas ! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your majesty's mansion the mother of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged and rewarded to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life, of her whom your majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George the Third and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven would have made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind. What, then, was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses ? And what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by order of the father of my child, and my natural as well as legal guardian and protector ?

Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal—conduct which has since undergone, even in parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions, and which has been also censured in minutes of the privy council—notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal—notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against one before it—notwithstanding

ing that there was no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence—notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies—even this secret tribunal acquitted me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it *not legally criminal*! And thus, at the suggestion and request of your majesty, had been created, to take cognizance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent, moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as my indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that indignation was lost in pity for him who could lower his princely plumes to the dust by giving his countenance and favour to the most conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious perjurers.

Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose hand was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father, and sovereign remained in the exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved, and ever lamented father was held over me, I was safe.—But, the melancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous king, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal



friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges, written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of your desire to aggravate my sufferings, and ensure my humiliation. You took to your councils and your bosom men whom you hated, whose abandonment of, and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences, worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled and unnatural union have sprung the manifold evils which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that people.

When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would have been strange indeed if calumniators, revilers, and traitors, had not abounded. Your court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Spies, bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators swarmed in those places which had before been the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure, all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the regency to that of my departure for the continent, would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to, and every pain short of bodily violence that can be inflicted on, any human being. Bereft of parent, brother, and father-in-law, and my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those

who have promised me support bought by rewards to be amongst my enemies; restrained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, out of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid; thus humbled, I had one consolation left—the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter; to fold her in my arms; to mingle my tears with hers, to receive her cheering caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances of never-ceasing love;—thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much to be allowed me. Even on the slave mart the cries of “Oh! my mother, my mother! Oh! my child, my child!” have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your advisers, more inhuman than the slave-dealers, remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of imbittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on a temporary absence, in the hope that time might restore me to her in happier days. Those days, alas! were never to come. To mothers—and those mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters—it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child, and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear in sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, leared with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and

indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

Let the world pass its judgement on the constituting of a commission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover, collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her: let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a business, and of the enlisting of foreign courts in the enterprise: but on the measures which have been adopted to give final effect to these preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak; it is for me to remonstrate with your majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for me to apprize you of my determination.

I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of *a law*. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds:—

The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the alleged acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the *constitution of the Court itself* that I particularly object, and that I most solemnly protest.

Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except those relating to the queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here; for here your majesty is the *plaintiff*. Here it is intended by the Bill to do you what you deem *good*, and to do *me great harm*. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

' You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this house written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the house have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding; and then the house, merely upon that report, have brought forward a bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

The injustice of putting forth this bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

Your majesty's ministers have *advised* this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to *punishment* if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my *judges*, but it is they who have *brought in the Bill*; and it is too notorious that they have *always a majority* in the house; so that without any other, here is ample proof that the house will decide in favour of the bill, and, of course, against me.

But further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your majesty is *the plaintiff*: to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate peers. Many of the present peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole can be, at your will and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater part of the peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your majesty, and

these, of course, your majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than *four fifths* of the peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the bill, some of these peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stooped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

To regard such a body as a *Court of Justice* would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject, would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

In the House of Commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your majesty's ministers is the same in both houses; and your majesty is well acquainted with the fact, that a majority of this house is composed of persons placed in it by the peers and by your majesty's treasury.

It really gives me pain to state these things to your majesty; and, if it gives your majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused if the judges and jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

.. On these grounds I protest against this species of trial.

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I demand a trial in a court where the jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the Houses of Parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a *Court of Justice*.

I have now frankly laid before your majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is liable. Instead of loving, honouring and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction. You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation. You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard, are means more manly than perjured witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child; but, since you would send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

CAROLINE R.

*Brandenburg-house, August 7, 1820.*

This composition is not more impressive at the present hour than it will be memorable to future

times. It is clear and strong—it is indignant and pathetic: there is no evil passion which it does not shame—there is no generous, or manly, or moral feeling, which it does not rouse with animated and unadorned eloquence. The illustrious writer speaks home to every heart when she describes her unexampled wrongs; while the reasoning which she offers against the intended aggravation of them deserves to be deeply pondered by every thinking mind in the community. The language throughout is of that nature which nothing but a sense of injured honour and ruined happiness could suggest; it is the appeal of a lofty but wounded spirit mingled with the alternate reproaches and supplications of an almost despairing victim. We have no right to use expressions of equal warmth with those in which the queen has delivered her sentiments. The injuries she complains of may, on the part of her majesty, justify invectives towards her supposed persecutors which mere sympathy with her sufferings could not extenuate in us. We shall make, however, but a brief remark or two on as many passages of the Royal Memoir.

Her majesty lays it down as a fixed principle, that “the basis of royal power is the public good,” and thence we infer, that, if the country would be a sufferer instead of gainer by a sovereign giving scope to his revengeful passions—even though he were to secure, instead of rendering hopeless, the redress of the grievances of which

he complains—his bounden duty would be to sacrifice his spleen, and to save the peace and welfare of his subjects. We are far from saying that the king is actuated by any vindictive passion; but we do assert, that his ministers are either wicked or unwise in having misdirected his majesty's zeal for the public prosperity, and in having persuaded him (contrary, we doubt not, to his own wish) that it would be better to divorce and destroy his wife, than to hear her complaints, and to relieve her sufferings.

Some judgement may be formed of the decided tendency and rapid progress of opinion against the proceedings of ministers, by the conduct of those amongst their own friends in Parliament who have any pretensions to honesty or independence. We insert the following letter from Sir Gerard Noel to Lord Liverpool, a gentleman of known character for loyalty and honour, and one whose general politics will not be depreciated by the king's ministers, because he has always supported their measures :

SIR GERARD NOEL TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

*Exton Park, August 11.*

MY LORD,

The present moment seems to me to claim the best exertions of every one to preserve the empire in prosperous tranquillity; and I therefore have no scruple, as an old member of the house, who have in general given my support to ministers, though always without fixed devotedness to party, in addressing your lordship previously to the meeting of Parliament.



I cannot extremely to be obliged to complain that his majesty's ministers, instead of adhering to an undeviating plan of lenient measures, in order to justify the cautionary regulations of the two last years, and unequivocally to mark the wish of administration more generally to attain the confidence of the people, have ventured to adopt with pertinacity the monstrous measure of the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the queen, which unhappily forms the most important undertaking of the new reign, and by which they are exasperating the public discontents, and almost calling forth and sanctioning, by their conduct in this sad affair, that impatience against which those cautionary regulations have been directed, and hereby creating such wide-spreading dissensions as will put in jeopardy every class of society, and may eventually tend to weaken our national respectability in the courts of Europe.

My Lord, it is to me a great proof of the inattention of the cabinet, that the return of the Queen to England was not foreseen, as the obvious consequence of its proceedings with regard to her majesty; for, when the storm began to threaten against her, immediately on the demise of the late king, with strong symptoms of its having been gathering in his life-time; and when, upon her last arrival at Rome, where she was personally known, and had been formerly acknowledged as Princess of Wales, the court there treated her majesty as a disowned individual; being thus a discarded heretic in a Roman Catholic country, must it not have been apparent to her majesty that her best course was rapidly to escape, and to throw herself on the protection of the British nation? I assert, therefore, without the fear of successful contradiction, that it is the conduct of his majesty's advisers which has forced the queen into England. The attempt to persuade her majesty to remain on the Continent, which happened at St. Omer's, could only excite her greater alarm; and her good sense and knowledge of the world,

and of the principles of the British Constitution—considering besides the harassings by which her steps had been visited in Italy, and upon the line of her return home—clearly and immediately pointed out to her majesty that to accept its conditions was wholly inconsistent with her dignity and her repose; that, without the protection of the English church, which was withheld, and without British sanction, which the communication could not assure to her majesty, there was neither safety nor permanency to life or fortune ascertained to her; and most fitly therefore she steadily and promptly proceeded on her journey. Can it then be charged against her majesty, that she has intruded offensively on the shores of England?

If indeed, my lord, instead of instituting that Milan Commission (for the cost of which I know not upon what principle the Chancellor of the Exchequer can ask from the Commons to provide), the cabinet, by a generous and prudent anticipation, had intimated to her majesty, that, after the demise of the late king, the protection of the church of England, and an increased allowance as Queen of England, should be afforded to her, to soften the misfortunes of the royal separation, which had so solemnly and irrevocably been agreed upon long ago, her majesty might possibly have been induced to remain abroad; and, in consideration of the relief which her marriage with the present king, when Prince of Wales, gave to the nation from the apprehension, strangely but strongly excited at that time by various circumstances, that the influence of popery might revive in these realms; feeling also grateful acknowledgement to both their majesties for their meeting the wishes of the people, then so impressively declared; Parliament no doubt would have agreed to pass an act enabling his majesty to make such provision, which would, in that case, have been mutually desirable; but, my lord, adverting to the actual posture of affairs, I pro-

announce that the queen had no alternative in the overture at St. Omer's for staying abroad, nor is the Bill of Pains and Penalties a fair alternative or just consequence of the failure of the negotiations with her majesty in London : and I cannot contemplate that bill, so illegitimately commenced, without disgust, or without astonishment as to its policy in a ministerial point of view ; regard being had to the enormous growing expenses of the trial, and to the disadvantage which must result from the unwarrantably terming it a cause between the country and the queen, whereas the repugnance of the country against the trial is so notorious, as probably to render the question of defraying the charges of so unjustifiable and pernicious an extravagance, if your lordship, and those who act with you, urge this portentous bill relentlessly forward in spite of every warning voice, most embarrassing to his majesty's administration, at a time perhaps even more distressingly afflicting than the present, and in a predicament entirely originating with themselves.

With sentiments, then, of parting friendship, and somewhat of painful anxiety for the future—and to obey the call to public duty, so well made by Lord John Russell upon Mr. Wilberforce, and all those members who have hitherto supported the present administration, I venture to address this letter of remonstrance to your lordship, as prime minister ; for not all the bias of attachment and of private gratitude which I owe to his majesty, and which it inflicts upon my heart a most severe pang to resist, can otherwise operate than to make me regret with deeper sorrow that his majesty is advised to assent to the carrying on this bill—a measure which demands from me a conduct in contrast with those feelings, and in opposition to that bias ; because, according to the best of my judgment, I should swerve from the paramount duty of my station did I not declare frankly that I will endeavour to interrupt and thwart the enactment of

this Bill in every stage: and did I not, with the full impression on my mind of the unpropitious consequences of it generally, and especially to the present administration, if passed into a law, most earnestly recommend that your lordship should be disposed to consider it kinder and wiser to withdraw the Bill, rather than to press the second reading of it when the peers shall re-assemble.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient and  
very humble servant,

GERARD NOEL.

On Tuesday the 15th, four addresses were presented to her majesty at Brandenburg-house. These were from the County of Middlesex; from the mechanics of the metropolis; from the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch; and from the inhabitants of Hammersmith.

About half-past ten o'clock the city part of the deputation, to present the county of Middlesex address, began to move from the house of Mr. Sheriff Parkins, in Bridge-street, Blackfriars. It consisted of about forty private carriages, one half of which, open landaus and four, each containing six gentlemen, led the way. The remainder consisted of close coaches and chariots, with two or three curricles. Mr. Sheriff Parkins, accompanied by his deputy, Mr. Pullen, led the way in the Sheriff's state coach. He was immediately followed by Mr. Samuel Whitbread, M.P. for Middlesex, who was accompanied by a friend, in his coach. Mr. Peter Moore followed, and Mr. Alderman Waithman: they were severally ac-

accompanied in their carriages by electors of Middlesex. The other carriages were filled by persons of respectability.

The procession moved at a gentle pace along Fleet-street, the Strand, Pall-mall, St. James's-street, Piccadilly, to Kensington-gate, where it was joined by the Westminster part of the cavalcade. A great number of persons were on the road, who loudly cheered the carriages as they passed along. The windows of the houses were crowded with ladies who joined in the expression of satisfaction by the waving of handkerchiefs, &c. The procession, after passing Kensington-gate, proceeded at a smarter pace onwards, and arrived at Brandenburg-house before one o'clock.

The garden gates were thrown open, and admission was indiscriminately allowed to the grounds in front of the house. The carriages drove up to the side entrance, where they set down their company. The queen, attended by Lady Anne Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood, received the deputation in the principal suite of apartments. Her majesty was dressed in mourning—she looked cheerful, and in excellent health. She conversed in the most affable and condescending manner with many of the gentlemen who approached her, particularly Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Peter Moore, Mr. Alderman Waithman, and the Sheriff. The Middlesex address was presented to the queen by Mr. Sheriff Parkins, and her majesty immediately returned the following answer :

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In my long absence from England I had never forgotten that justice and humanity had no warmer advocates, nor more steady friends than the freeholders of Middlesex. Their present animated and affectionate address has impressed that conviction more strongly upon my mind ; and my heart rejoices at receiving such a tribute of regard from men so enlightened, philanthropists so generous, and patriots so pure. The improved spirit of the age, which is seen in the intellectual advancement of man through all the gradations of the social scheme, is particularly visible in this metropolitan county. Here the dissemination of knowledge is found to have the most salutary effects. Here moral worth is most resplendent. Here beneficence most abounds. Here those sentiments and affections are most operative that exclude intolerance from the mind, and give the most comprehensive charity to the heart. Here liberty finds its most impenetrable shield ; and tyranny has to contend with its most determined foe. My frank and unreserved disposition may, at times, have laid my conduct open to the misrepresentations of my adversaries. Conscious that my motives are pure, and my heart upright, I have never sought any refuge even from the infuriated eye of malignity in the coverts of duplicity, or in the obscurities of fraud. I am what I seem, and I seem what I am. And though calumny, aided by perjury, is now making its last desperate attack upon my character, yet I feel no fear, except it be the fear that my character should not be sufficiently investigated. I challenge every inquiry ; I deprecate not the most vigilant scrutiny.

My life has been a life of trial. But what trial is there which I have yet undergone, that has not elevated my character, and humbled that of my enemies ? During a period of twenty-five years I have been exposed to the most persecuting inquisition. In private life virtue is thought to bloom like the primrose in the shade ; but I have been

placed in circumstances where temptation operates with double force, and where vice assumes the most fascinating lures; and yet what credible proof has been produced that I have once erred from the path of innocence?

The freeholders of Middlesex could not make use of expressions more gratifying to my pride, or more sacred to my soul, than by telling me that I occupy in the affections of the people that place which the Princess Charlotte so eminently possessed. It inspires me with a sort of hallowed ecstasy, when I perceive how much and how tenderly this generous nation still cherishes her venerated memory.

The voice of the people, which has been so generally expressed in favour of my integrity, has cheered me in the most trying circumstances; and if I were to reach the fatal moment of my expiration on the morrow, it would still murmur pleasure in my ears.

When the freeholders of Middlesex congratulate me upon having such fair associates as Truth and Justice in my train, I must implore the Author of all Good, that as they have been my solace in time past, they may remain my inseparable companions through life, and not forsake me even in the tomb.

The instant the answer was given by her majesty, it was communicated to the crowd without doors by the gentlemen at the windows, by a loud clapping of hands. The communication was hailed from without by loud and reiterated cheers, intermixed with entreaties that her majesty would gratify the crowd by her appearance at the windows of the house. The queen, with great condescension, obeyed this call, and appeared at all the windows in succession, accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Whit-

bread, and Mr. Peter Moore. It is needless to state, that her majesty was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. The reception of the Middlesex deputation occupied nearly half an hour. The deputation with the Shoreditch Address was then introduced, and received with equal affability by her majesty, who permitted the principal gentlemen to have the honour of kissing her hand.

Her majesty gave the following answer to this address:—

The householders and inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this affectionate address. The long series of persecutions by which I have been assailed, though they have been successfully defeated, have been as constantly renewed. The present atrocious attack upon my moral character, and upon my royal dignity, is designed by my enemies to produce that catastrophe which is to terminate this drama of iniquity. But the good people of England are not willing to see a new reign open with a tragedy.

The inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, well remark, that the charges against me are of the most vague and indefinite kind. They have no palpable form, no distinct individual character. Such vague generalities of accusation are the common refuge of slander, when it asperses without evidence, and condemns without proof. In the present instance, the charge against me is so indeterminate, that it is more like an inquisition into the conduct of a whole life than into the truth of any particular allegation.

In their Bill of Pains and Penalties my adversaries first condemn me without proof—and then, with a sort of novel refinement in legislative science, proceed to inquire whether



there is any proof to justify the condemnation. They first prejudice my case, and then attempt to colour the injustice by a sort of judicial parade, which this age will never approve, and which posterity will abhor. Justice has been denominated even-handed ; but what should we think of that emblematical figure of judicial purity in one of whose hands the accuser had put not only a green bag of perjury, but a yellow bag of gold.

The deputation of the Artisans of the Metropolis followed the Middlesex deputation on foot.

They met a little before twelve o'clock, near St. Clement's church, and the crowd, which was very considerable, was there marshalled by a few persons who bore white wands, by way of distinction ; they formed the crowd into companies of a convenient breath to move through the streets without creating any inconvenient interruption.

The address itself, signed by 29,786 persons, was borne between two of the addressers, genteelly dressed in mourning, with rosettes of silk riband in the breasts of their coats, and white wands in their hands ; they were followed by about 100 others, walking two and two, attired in the same manner ; about 100 more followed in coloured clothes, some with their aprons on, others with silk coloured neckerchiefs, but the whole exceedingly clean. This party was composed of persons deputed from the several trades of the metropolis, two from each. They proceeded through Wych-street, Drury-lane, St Giles's and Oxford-street. They halted in three

or four places, and gave three cheers. They entered the upper end of Piccadilly, and passed out through Hyde Park-corner. When they came in front of the barracks at Knightsbridge they again halted, gave three cheers, and commenced a loud clapping of hands. Some straggling soldiers were at the gates of the barracks, and several at the windows; they remained passive spectators of the enthusiastic crowd. By the time the crowd arrived at Knightsbridge it joined the rear of the cavalcade, which had previously advanced with the Middlesex Address, and before this time, several carriages, containing the gentlemen with the Shoreditch Address, who were attended by their parochial officers and maces, had joined the throng, so that the road from Hyde Park-corner to Hammersmith then presented one continued line of persons on their way to address the queen.

The anxiety to see the several processions pass was manifested at a very early hour. The morning stages which start from Piccadilly were more than usually crowded, and long before the time appointed for any of the processions to move, not a vehicle of any description was to be found unoccupied for the conveyance of passengers towards Brandenburg-house.

About eleven o'clock, the pedestrians began to arrive at Hammersmith, and their numbers gradually thickened until the footway on the sides of the road, more particularly that from Ken-

sington to Hammersmith, became completely crowded. The whole scene was at this time extremely interesting. On the side of the road, was a stream of people of various ranks, the lowest of whom were cleanly dressed; and the mixture of females in the crowd, sparkling as they did under a clear bright day, relieved in some measure the sombre effect of the moving mass. The centre of the road was filled with horsemen and vehicles of all descriptions, crowded for the most part with respectable-looking men, going at various paces, and passing each other at pleasure, the wheels of the carriages and gigs flashing back the sun so as to dazzle the eyes of the spectators. At the junction of the by-roads were to be seen knots of persons who had come from the adjacent country to enjoy the sight. While some dropped in from these avenues to swell the passing throng, other groups were formed at the public-house doors, and the inhabitants of the other houses were either standing at their doors or looking out of the windows to satisfy their curiosity. In the mean while business of all sorts seemed suspended. It was evidently, however, not a day of rejoicing to the people. Every one seemed occupied with the important subject which now agitates the country; some seriously talking of it, others wrapt up in their meditations, and all apparently apprehensive of its consequences to the public welfare; justly inferring perhaps what must be the effect on the nation at

large, from the impression which the proceedings against the queen had made on their own minds.

As the day advanced and the people accumulated, the regularity which has been mentioned in the movements of the people was no longer visible. Besides the footways, the centre of the road was strewn with passengers, and as soon as the deputations had united and begun to proceed together, the whole breadth of the way was for a great length nothing but a moving aggregate of carriages, and every other description of vehicle. Horsemen and pedestrians all commingled—each endeavouring to get forward in a cloud of dust, with the most speed, and the least annoyance to himself or others. A promiscuous throng of persons of both sexes closed the line. All the windows of the houses at each side of the road were filled by persons of respectability: among them were clusters of elegantly-dressed ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs as the procession passed; and the groups of persons who were stationary in different parts of the road loudly cheered the most popular characters as they recognised them in the line of march, and repeatedly shouted “Long live Queen Caroline!”

In this way the processions reached that part of Hammersmith where the road, leading by the church to Brandenburg-house, turns off. The Union Flag had previously been hoisted on the steeple, and flags with various inscriptions waved

from some of the houses in the town, as well as from several along the road. A merry peal had also commenced before this time, and, with the firing of guns, was continued until the business of the day closed.

Many of the gentlemen who composed the preceding deputations were with difficulty able to regain their carriages, and drive off from the house in the direction kept open for them. While they were in the act of driving off, the large pedestrian body of artisans and mechanics entered the grounds, and were loudly cheered; a select part of their number had the honour of being admitted to the queen to present the general address. Her majesty received them with her usual grace and dignity, and they retired highly gratified with their reception.

The following was her majesty's answer to the address of the artisans:—

I am much gratified and unfeignedly obliged by this warm and affectionate address from the industrious classes in and about the great metropolis of these realms. It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to find that this mighty city contains myriads of such persons, among whom there is a large stock of virtue and intelligence, who condole with my sorrows, and who kindle with indignation at my wrongs. The industrious classes have shewn that they still retain that independence of mind which is inflexible to external circumstances, and which was once the proud boast and the characteristic property of every Englishman. Though the gangrene of corruption has engendered a debasing venality and a fawning obsequiousness in detached portions of the community, yet Britain

still retains a large portion of that heart of oak which for so many ages has made its name glorious and its annals bright.

The industrious classes of the nation constitute the vital energy of the state. In the great fabric of society they are the strength at the bottom which support the ornaments at the top.

The productive powers of the country are its real powers. For out of what other source is consumption supplied?—What else is it that multiplies gratifications of all kinds?—To what else is affluence indebted for its splendour, or beauty for its decorations? Where rank is measured by usefulness, no reflecting mind will say that the industrious classes occupy the lowest step in the ascent of honourable ambition or of estimable fame. There have been times, and perhaps those times may still be, when the hard-earned bread of the long-toiling peasant or mechanic is insufficient for his numerous family—when the penury of the day has been succeeded by the inquietude of the night, and when night and day, and day and night, have been only a sad succession of pining wretchedness and of hopeless woe. That order of things, which, in a large portion of the community, necessitates the acquisition of subsistence by the sweat of the brow, is the institution of Providence for the benefit of man; but who does not see that it is not owing to the wisdom of the Deity, but to the hard-heartedness of the oppressor, when the sweat of the brow during the day is followed by the tear of affliction at its close, when the labour of the hand only adds to the aching of the heart, and what ought to be a source of joy is an aggravation of calamity? But if these things have been, I may perhaps be permitted to hope, that they will ere long be only as the troubled scenery of a dream; and that happier times are approaching, when commerce will crowd our rivers, trade be busy in our streets, and industry smiling in our fields.

The grounds were at this time entirely filled by an immense multitude: the pressure in front of the house was so great, that many of the laurel hedges, which protect the small fruit garden in that direction, yielded to the weight of persons who were jammed against them; and some idle boys immediately took advantage of their contact with the fruit to refresh themselves with such apples as they could reach. It is but right to state that even this trifling trespass was immediately resisted by the crowd, many of whom instantly assisted the constables to eject the truants who were unable to resist the temptation which encompassed them. After the artisans withdrew from her majesty's presence, the queen made her appearance again at the windows, and signified by her gesture the gratification she felt at the demonstrations of affection which were reiterated by the immense multitude then before her. Mr. Peter Moore, who attended her majesty, then addressed the crowd, and informed them that the queen had yet to receive the address of the inhabitants of Hammersmith, who were then approaching in their carriages. Her majesty, he said, was afraid that some persons might suffer inconvenience or injury from the horses, and therefore requested that they would be kind enough to depart, and make room for the other gentlemen who were coming up with an address. This intimation was immediately obeyed, and the gentlemen from Hammersmith passed into the

house with their address. They met with the same gratifying reception as the other gentlemen who preceded them.

Her majesty delivered the following answer to the Hammersmith address :

I am sensibly impressed and deeply obliged by this affectionate address from the inhabitants of Hammersmith, amongst whom I have my present temporary residence. I have always rejoiced in the felicitations of neighbours and in the charities of neighbourhood. The day on which the remains of the Princess Charlotte were committed to the silent tomb was a day of deep sorrow to the nation. But if the nation wept, it was not merely because youth and beauty had withered, and wit and elegance had vanished in the grave. These were common occurrences : but it is not a common occurrence to see every virtue in a successor to the throne ; and in the mirror of those virtues to behold the nation emerging from wretchedness, servitude, and disgrace, to freedom, to glory, and to happiness. All Europe has its eyes fixed on the present procedure in the House of Lords. I shall have to appear at the bar of that house ; but that house itself will have to appear at the bar of public opinion throughout the world. I shall have to defend myself against their accusations ; but they will have to defend themselves against the reproaches of individual conscience, as well as the impartial condemnation of the age which now is, and of that which is to come. To have been one of the peers who, after accusing and condemning, affected to sit in judgment on Queen Caroline, will be a sure passport to the splendid notoriety of everlasting shame.

Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. P. Moore, and Mr. Whitbread, remained with her majesty a considerable time after the other gentlemen of the



several deputations had withdrawn, and it was near four o'clock, before the crowd which occupied the grounds in front of Brandenburg-house had retired. The spectacle in the narrow road leading from Hammersmith to her majesty's residence, was as interesting and diversified as that on the main road: vehicles of every description were in waiting for company they had set down; barouches, landaus, gigs, tax-carts of every shape and colour; indeed, so great was the demand for conveyances, that females, respectably dressed, were glad to avail themselves of those heavy machines which are used in removing furniture in the metropolis. Considerable laughter was excited by the inscriptions on these carts, and the difference between their present and their ordinary application: for instance, groups of females and children were seated upon vehicles, on which were inscribed, "Goods carefully removed, at a low price;"—"Lumber stowed and carried any distance;" and even the accommodation which such conveyances afforded was the subject of much competition; the oppressive heat of the day had so considerably fatigued a number of the pedestrians. The large throng which had set out in the morning from the metropolis, continued at intervals to occupy the road on its return, until a late hour in the evening. No serious accident occurred during the early part of the day, though we are extremely sorry to say a fatal one happened in the evening, the particu

lars of which will be found subjoined. The light-fingered gentry, of course, did not lose so excellent an opportunity of practising their favourite occupation: many of these fellows fell into the hands of the police, and others of them when caught in the act of picking pockets, received chastisement on the spot from the crowd.

Many of the artisans and mechanics wore laurel-leaves and sprigs in their hats, and others of them white favours in their breasts.

We are sorry to add, that a melancholy accident took place immediately opposite Brandenburg-house. About five o'clock in the afternoon, some men had placed several pieces of small cannon on the side of the river, and were firing them off in order to add to the general gaiety of the day, when a young man, named William Ford, about twenty years of age, and a native of Hammersmith, was in the act of replacing one of the colours which had fallen, one of the guns was unfortunately fired off, and the wadding penetrating his forehead, part of his face and brains were blown away. He was immediately conveyed to the Red Lion public-house, on the opposite side of the river. Several medical gentlemen attended, who extracted the wadding, but the unfortunate youth lingered only about two hours, when death put a period to his misery.

On Tuesday, the 15th, the House of Lords met in pursuance of adjournment, when the Duke of Leinster said, that he rose for the purpose of

taking this, the earliest opportunity to state to their lordships, that he felt the strongest objections to the Bill of Pains and Penalties now in progress through their lordships' house, and that he meant to oppose it in every stage, and on every occasion. He considered all Bills of Pains and Penalties as the engines of violence, injustice, and oppression; but that which was at present before their lordships appeared to him, in every point of view, peculiarly objectionable.

Wednesday, the 16th, being the day appointed for the removal of her majesty from Brandenburg-house to her new residence, the house of Lady Francis in St. James's-square, a great crowd assembled there at an early hour, attracted by curiosity to witness the arrival of her majesty, as also the arrival of the several deputations charged to present addresses; viz. those of the Married Ladies, Greenwich, and the Borough of Aylesbury. The concourse continued to increase until the space between the houses and the railing of the central inclosure was almost filled up, extending itself, in irregular divisions, to the contiguous corners of the square, and augmenting its numbers in greater proportions as the expected hour of her arrival approached. The appearance of this multitude was in general respectable, and their conduct that of silent and respectful attention. The windows of Lord Castlereagh's house were closely shut up, from the ground floor to the attic, and it was understood, that all the valuable property

had been removed. At a quarter past twelve o'clock, the approach of the queen was announced by the rushing of a vast multitude of persons from Piccadilly and Pall-mall, and other western avenues, through the latter street. Her majesty's carriage came into the square amid the acclamations of the immense multitude assembled. Her majesty appeared pale, but smiled, and seemed in most excellent health. Alderman Wood had previously arrived, and handed her majesty from her carriage. At one o'clock, the deputation appointed to present the address of the Married Ladies entered the square. They occupied thirty carriages, and were all elegantly dressed; they were received by the crowd with the most deafening shout of applause, and as each carriage drew up to the door to set down, the salutation was repeated with undiminished effect. The scene, viewed from the eastern angle of the square, was of the most animated character. The whole deputation amounted to about 100; having alighted, they were shewn to the queen's presence. Her majesty was attended by Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton.

The address was read by Mrs. Thelwall; and her majesty returned the following answer:—

' In this honest and affectionate address from my female neighbours, who are wives and mothers of families, in and near the metropolis, I gratefully acknowledge the sympathy which they express for my many sorrows, and the indignation which they feel for my unnumbered wrongs.

The approbation of my own sex must be ever dear to my heart; and it must be more particularly gratifying, when it is the approbation of mothers of families in and near the metropolis.

When my honour is attacked, every loyal Englishwoman must feel it as an imputation upon her own. The virtues of sovereigns are not circumscribed in their influence, or insulated in their operations. They put in motion a wide circle of the imitative propensity in the subordinate conditions of life. Thus the virtues of the great become the property of the people; and the people are interested in preserving them from slanderous contamination.

The present procedure against me is like a wilful attempt, on the part of blind frenzy or improvident malice, to destroy the moral character of the monarchy. To lessen this moral character in public estimation, is not merely to degrade the queen, but to shatter into atoms that reverential respect which gives strength to the sceptre, and dignity to the sovereign.

I shall never sacrifice that honour, which is the glory of a woman, and the brightest jewel of a queen, for any earthly consideration. All the possessions in the world would be purchased too dear, if they were obtained at the price of self-condemnation. I can never be debased while I observe the great maxim of respecting myself.

In this era of ceaseless change and of violent agitation, when whole nations seem tossed, like individuals on the ocean of storms, no circumstances, however menacing, shall shake the constancy of my attachment to the English nation, or estrange my affections from the general good of the community. The future is wisely covered with an opaque cloud; but, whatever may be my future destiny, I will cherish in all vicissitudes, and preserve in all fortunes, that resignation to the Divine Will, which, in proportion as it becomes an habitual sentiment of the mind, improves all its virtues, and elevates the general character.

After the presentation her Majesty conversed in the most affable manner with several of the ladies, who had the honour of kissing her hand. The ladies then returned to their carriages, and drove off, accompanied by the reiterated cheers of the crowd, intermingled with shouts of "*Long live Queen Caroline.*" During these demonstrations of affectionate attachment to the Queen, her majesty, attended by Mr. Alderman Wood, made her appearance at the drawing-room window, and repeatedly acknowledged by her gestures, the sense she entertained of the kindness she had experienced.

Shortly after the ladies' procession had retired, seven coaches, each drawn by four horses, arrived with the deputation, bearing the Address of the Inhabitants of Greenwich. The first coach contained the officers of the vestry, and behind it stood the beadles carrying their maces. The second coach contained Mr. Vernon and Mr. Giles, the mover and seconder of the address; and the others contained some respectable inhabitants of Greenwich.

They met with a most gracious reception, and her Majesty was pleased to return the following answer :

In this cordial, this friendly address, the inhabitants of Greenwich have strongly excited my sympathies, and interested my heart. In the most vivid manner they have recalled to my memory those times over which oblivion will never throw a veil. They have reminded me of those past days when I lived among

them, when I visited their houses and traversed their fields, when I partook of their social festivities, and was united in their sacred rites; when I was rendered happy by ministering to the wants of some, and by adding to the comforts of others; and, above all, when my heart was lifted to God in gratitude because my ears were cheered with the benedictions of the poor. This is that period which the kind-hearted inhabitants of Greenwich so powerfully recall to my recollection; nor can I ever be unmindful that it was a period in which I could behold that countenance which I never beheld without vivid delight, and to hear that voice which to my fond ears was like music breathing over violets. Can I forget? No, my soul will never suffer me to forget that, when the cold remains of this beloved object were deposited in the tomb, the malice of my persecutors would not suffer even the name of the mother to be inscribed upon the coffin of her child. Of all the indignities which I have experienced, this is one which, minute as it may seem, has affected me as much as all the rest. But if it were minute, it was not so to my agonising sensibility. It was a dagger directed by unrelenting hate, not to the surface, but to the very centre of a mother's heart. If little circumstances mark character, that which I have mentioned will not fail to fix a note of indelible infamy upon that ferocious persecution which has troubled my peace and imbittered my days.

While the Greenwich deputation were in attendance upon her Majesty, Lord Nugent and Mr. Packford, the members for Aylesbury, arrived with the address from the inhabitants of that place. The noble earl was recognised by persons amongst the crowd, and his name re-echoed with great applause.

Her Majesty received the address from Aylesbury with great satisfaction, and was pleased to return the following answer:

\* The inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury have my cordial thanks for this impressive testimony of their affectionate regard. Whatever may have been the afflictions with which I have been visited by Providence, I know my duty to Heaven too well to murmur at any of its dispensations. The sorrows that are scattered over the surface of human life are usually transient, though often recurring. They come and go—they depart and return, like the wind and the rain; but my sorrows have not been of this kind. They have not merely flitted over my nerves in the shades of the evening, to disappear when the East reddened with the dawn: they have been a long, a dark, an almost interminable night, which malice, like that of a fiend, has thrown over my soul for a quarter of a century. But the people of England think that I have been sufficiently tortured by malignity and saddened by woe. Their vivid sympathies and their glowing affections begin to dissipate the thick darkness that covered my prospects, and to announce the day-spring of a life more serene, when my wrongs shall be redressed, and my persecutions come to an end.

Those persons who could instigate or advise that the name of the Queen should, contrary to all usage, be omitted in our national prayers, must have had their hearts far from God. Such an omission is at variance with that charity without which all our adoration is mere mummery, and all our Hosannas only empty air.

The injustice of my enemies has been so great, and indeed so monstrous, that the account of it will hereafter be numbered among the prodigies in the moral history of man. It is the extremity of barbarism in an age of high civilization. Because I have violated no law, a Bill of Pains and Penalties has been introduced into the House of Lords to destroy me without law. But the people of England have not minds of inert clay, or hearts of impenetrable stone. They know, they see, they feel my unparalleled wrongs. Every man, every woman, nay, every child, is alive to the sympathy they have inspired. Oppression always sanctifies its object. In this order of things the Almighty has written his decree against cruelty and injustice.



The eventful 17th of August at length arrived, that day on which the *ex post facto* Bill, for the punishment of the Queen of England, was to be taken into consideration by the peers of the realm; a day which will ever stand as a foul blot on the records of the country. The peers\* were all summoned to attend in their respective places, and from day to day during the continuance of the trial, and with a view to afford every practicable accommodation to strangers or auditors, which the necessarily straitened limits of the House of Lords could afford, it was ordered by their lordships that no lord shall give more than one order of admission in any one day, and that such order shall be regularly dated and signed, and sealed by such lord.

The following arrangements were made for the accommodation of her majesty in the house of lords, during her trial. A new door was made in the piazza, between the peers' entrance and the passage leading to Cotton-garden. This door led into the room heretofore devoted to the peers,

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\* The Garter King at Arms, at the commencement of every Session, provides the officers of the House of Lords with a roll of all the peers of the realm; and this Garter-roll, as it is termed, is their guide and authority regarding those who are entitled to take the oaths. There are 367 peers of parliament on this roll; but in this number there are 7 Roman Catholic peers, about 12 minors, and 8 peers who are abroad. Exempting those peers, and the noble lords not bound to attend on account of advanced age, it was calculated that about 330 peers daily attended the proceedings respecting the Queen.

as a robing room, when the king attended the house to meet his parliament. Here her majesty was to be regularly received by the usher of the black rod, whose office it was to conduct her along the passage, and up the grand staircase, by which the peers proceed into the house. Instead of entering the body of the house, at this end of it, her majesty was to be conducted along a wide avenue, or passage, to a room set apart expressly for her, and which is nearly opposite the door by which strangers gain admission to the space below the bar. It was Lord Shaftesbury's (the chairman of the committee) private room, and it was very handsomely fitted up for the particular accommodation of her majesty. One female attendant was provided by the house to wait upon her majesty, and the deputy housekeeper was appointed. The queen was allowed to bring with her one female attendant, or companion, every day, and that person, should her majesty desire it, was to be accommodated with a seat, within the bar of the house, near to her majesty. A handsome elbow chair was provided for the queen, covered with scarlet morocco, edged with gold-headed nails, the legs were tastefully gilt, with gold bordering round the edges of the chair. An oblong square footstool was also prepared, covered with red morocco, and decorated with gilt ornaments to accord with the chair. The chair was placed within the bar, immediately under the station allotted for her majesty's counsel; but as

stairs. The fireroom of the different offices  
 were also on duty, and spread about in different  
 places. All were on duty by eight o'clock. In  
 addition to these arrangements, the usher of the  
 Black Rod, Sir T. Tyrwhitt, and D. Fellowes,  
 were, on the 15th and 16th, in attendance,  
 bringing several arrangements into execution.  
 In the evening of the 16th an order was issued,  
 defining the regulations respecting carriages,  
 and the hours during which certain streets  
 parts of the town were to be kept cleared:  
 as printed, and immediately afterwards stuck  
 at the several corners of the streets in the  
 neighbourhood of the houses of parliament:—  
 The following order was also issued and  
 presented to the several messengers and officers  
 of the House, for the guidance of their con-  
 duct:—

House of Lords, August 17

The entrance for Members of the House of Commons is  
 through the long gallery only.

The door-keepers have strict directions not to allow any  
 person whatever to pass the outer door, where strangers are  
 admitted, without a peer's order.

THOMAS TYRWHITT,  
 Black Rod.

There was another regulation in this order, but  
 it was eventually struck out; it was to the fol-  
 lowing effect, that

It is understood that Black Rod can only admit one order;  
 from each peer daily; and that as soon as the space allotted for

strangers below the bar be filled, which is calculated to hold one hundred persons, no more are to be admitted, whether they have peers' orders or not.

All the officers of the House of Commons, the messengers, door-keepers, &c. were in attendance by nine o'clock; the door-way at the bottom of the stone steps leading into the lobby, was kept closed, except to members, who thus proceeded along the long-gallery to their station in the House of Lords by the throne. The attendance of the officers was requisite, as the members of the Commons had no other means of passing to the Lords; and soon after nine o'clock, a crowd of members had collected in their lobby.

By nine o'clock the carriages began to arrive rapidly. Dr. Lushington, Mr. Brougham, and Mr. Maule, the solicitor to the Treasury, approached in separate carriages; and they proceeded to the Lords through Howard's Coffee-house, under the piazza. They were followed by Mr. Sheriff Parkins, in his carriage. He attended to present the City petition against the Bill of Pains and Penalties. His servants were in black. He went into Howard's Coffee-house, where he was to meet Lord Erskine by appointment; his lordship was to present the petition.—His lordship, however, was not there.

Amongst the members of Parliament who arrived at the Commons' were the Hon. Grey Bennett, and his brother; Mr. Tierney, &c.

The judges also arrived soon after nine o'clock,

and they proceeded from their rooms in the Stone Buildings, through the southern hall gate, and entered the House of Lords by the lower doors. They were attended by their officers, train-bearers, &c.

The peers arrived rapidly at half-past nine o'clock, and the mob forced the servants and coachmen to pull off their hats, huzza, and exclaim, "the Queen, the Queen!" Those ministerial peers who were recognized were hissed; the Duke of Wellington—will England believe it?—was hissed. The gallant general was on horseback, with a groom behind him. He seemed perfectly amazed—he looked round him with astonishment—and he made almost a complete halt and gazed full at the crowd. Even they stood abashed, and seemed ashamed. The disgraceful hissing subsided, and the duke passed on.

The Duke of Wellington was soon afterwards followed by the Duke of York, accompanied by the Marquis of Anglesea. Both were on horseback. The crowd received them most flatteringly, and on their arrival at the corner of the House of Commons, the first regiment of Foot Guards presented arms, the drums performing the royal salute. The royal duke then alighted and walked to the door of the House of Lords. Lord Donoughmore was also on horseback, but being unable to make way through the crowd, his lordship alighted at the end of Parliament-street, and, as well as many other lords, were escorted by the constables

to the peers' entrance. Prince Esterhazy approached the House on foot, and the French ambassador went in his carriage. The several bishops, as they passed in their carriages, received no particular notice from the crowd. The approaches for the carriages were kept clear, and the most excellent order was preserved till the Queen's arrival.

On the 17th, so early as seven o'clock in the morning, symptoms of the approaching popular ferment began to manifest themselves in St. James's square. A number of waggons were brought, and the horses being taken away, they were stationed in a line round the palisades of the shrubbery, extending to almost half its circumference. The whole of these were filled with well-dressed females, at a shilling a-head; in less than half an hour other vehicles, such as coaches, gigs, and taxed carts, &c. arranged themselves within this line, and pedestrians were continually pouring in through all the four avenues, and by nine o'clock the whole square presented almost one solid mass of human beings. The windows and the balconies were all filled with ladies, and many of the house-tops were occupied. A strong detachment of the Bow-street patrol, under the direction of Perry, had previously been stationed on the steps, and in front of her Majesty's residence. Mr. Alderman Wood had also arrived about eight o'clock, and was in waiting to receive her Majesty.

ten minutes after nine o'clock, a distant  
at announced her Majesty's approach; the  
embled multitude in the square caught the  
al, and in the next moment her Majesty's  
telling chariot and four rolled into the square  
dst reiterated shouts, which seemed almost  
o rend Heaven's conclave." It was not with-

trouble that the postillions could ap-  
ach the door, so thickly were the people  
l together, and so vehement were their  
culations. At length, however, the carriage  
driven to the door, and her Majesty was  
ted from it by Mr. Alderman Wood. Her  
y appeared in excellent health and spirits  
uch better indeed than had been seen upon  
f occasion since her return to England.

jes was attended by Lady Anne Hamil-  
t, who seemed to partake, in no ordinary  
degree, the enthusiasm of the multitude, and the  
fearless anticipation of her royal mistress.

In a few minutes, her Majesty's private town  
equipage was seen making its way through the  
crowd at the lower end of the square, and infinite  
anxiety was manifested by the populace to know  
whom it contained.—“ Is it Brougham?”—“ Is it  
Denman?” — “ Is it Lushington?” was every  
where a hundred times repeated. It drove up to  
the door and was found to contain Sir William  
Gell and the Honourable Keppel Craven, her  
Majesty's Chamberlains when she left this coun-  
try for the Continent, and who resumed their

functions immediately after her return. They arrived from Naples, for the purpose, only the preceding day.

The Hon. Keppel Craven alighted from the carriage, and immediately joined her Majesty, Lady Hamilton, and Mr. Alderman Wood, in the drawing-room. Sir William Gell remained in the carriage, which drove on a little distance from the door.

An interval of some minutes now ensued, during which, the shouts and cries of "the Queen! the Queen?" were almost incessant; and once or twice her Majesty advanced to the window, and was greeted with the loudest demonstrations of popular attachment.

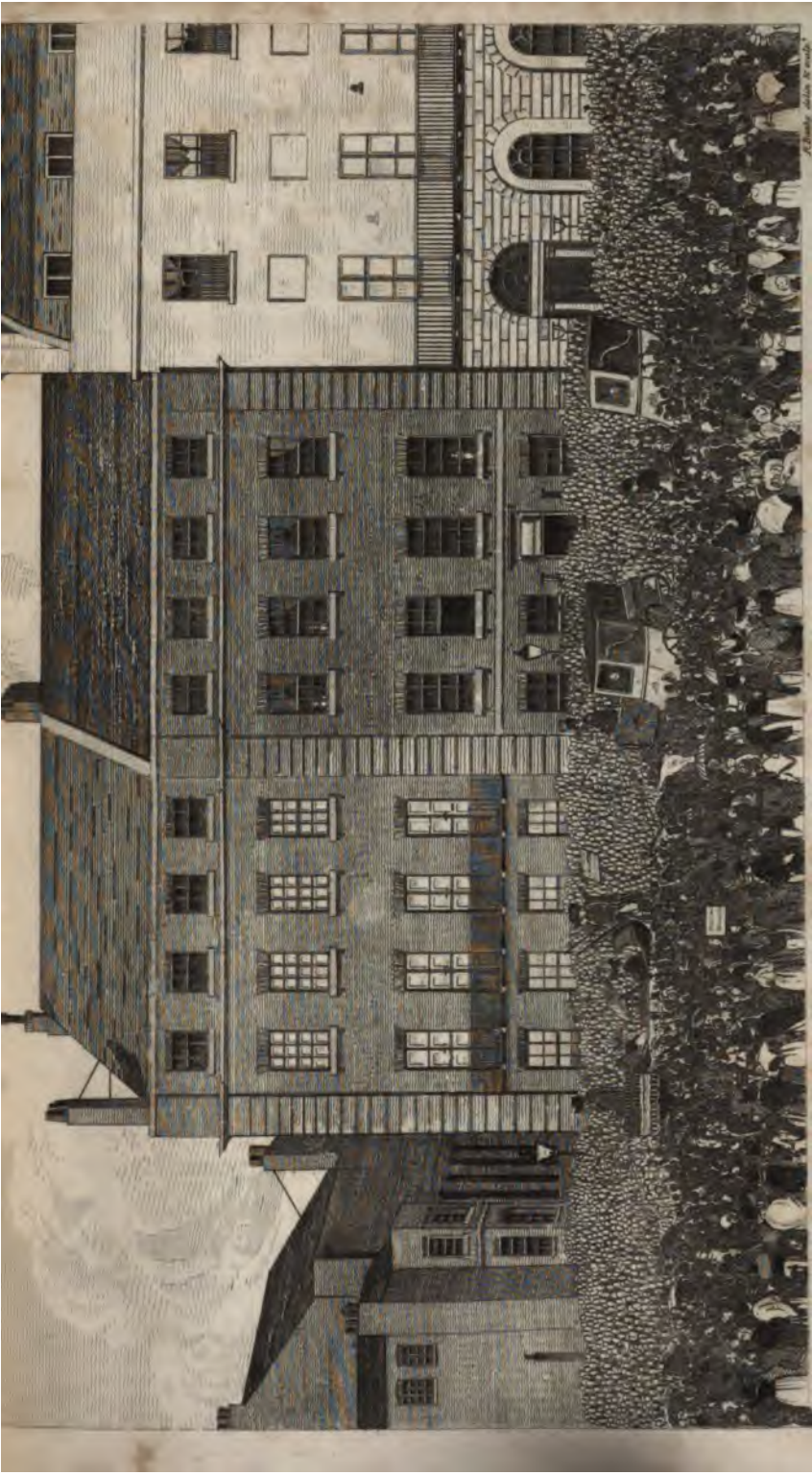
Shortly after her Majesty's state carriage was seen advancing through the moving mass from York-street, and the shouts of the multitude again rent the air. It was drawn by six beautiful bay horses, superbly caparisoned, the coachman, postillion, and footmen, habited in rich dresses of scarlet and gold, with purple velvet facings, and black velvet caps of state, exactly the same as those of the servants of his late and present Majesty.

Every thing now appeared ready for her Majesty to set forward, and Mr. Alderman Wood, in full dress, was conducted through the crowd by the police, to the carriage, which brought the Queen to town.

The door of the state carriage was then opened



by the royal servants, and "Hats off!" was the instant and almost universal cry. It was as instantly and universally obeyed; scarcely a head remaining covered throughout the vast assemblage whilst her Majesty descended the grand staircase, leaning on the arm of the Hon. Keppel Craven, and followed by Lady Hamilton. The enthusiastic shouts of the populace again resounded on all sides as her Majesty took her seat in the carriage, and Mr. Craven having resumed his place beside Sir W. Gell in her Majesty's other carriage, the cavalcade set forward, amidst the most tremendous crowd which was ever collected. The carriage in which was Mr. Alderman Wood, went first, the state carriage followed, and that, with Sir W. Gell and the Hon. Keppel Craven brought up the rear. As it advanced slowly along Pall-mall, and indeed throughout the whole line to Westminster-Hall, the streets seemed to be paved with heads, and the houses on each side, from the ground to their utmost summit, one continued scene of animation. There was waving of white handkerchiefs, scarfs, and even table cloths; fervently expressed blessings from the females, and climbing boys stood on their father's shoulders, answering their shouting sires with tender cries. As the cavalcade approached Carlton-House, the populace manifested the greatest anxiety to ascertain whether the sentinels would present arms as she passed, and they formed avenues from each soldier to the





carriage in order that he might see it, waiting with a sort of breathless expectation for the result. The soldiers did present arms, the same as to any other member of the Royal Family, and it is impossible adequately to describe the enthusiastic shouts and gesticulations which followed. The soldiers at the Horse-Guards, like those at Carlton-House, presented arms as her Majesty passed ; but those at the Treasury and Home-Office did not, and for some seconds it appeared probable that violence would take place, but the Queen having once passed by, the angry feelings of the crowd passed by also, and all was peace again.

As her Majesty approached the barrier at Old Palace-yard, there were tremendous shouts of "the Queen !" " the Queen !" " the Queen is coming !" and at half-past ten o'clock the procession passed through the barrier.

Up to this time the barriers had been so well defended, that scarcely any one had passed without permission ; but now many persons of both sexes entered with the carriages, and two women clung so close to the fore-horse of Mr. Alderman Wood's carriage, that they could not be disengaged from it, and screamed most lustily when it was attempted. A tremendous rush was now made. In vain did Mr. Lee, the high-constable, attempt to stem the torrent; he was carried away by its force, and thousands, of all ages and both

sexes, rushed to the scene of action, with loud cries of "the Queen!" the Queen!"

The procession was not marked with any peculiarity till its arrival at the barriers raised across the street from St. Margaret's church to the Stone Buildings. The crowd was here great and intense, and at this time there were only constables to guard those barriers, the foot guards having been drawn up under the piazza by the House of Lords, so that it was some time before the carriage opening could be cleared. Alderman Wood, in his coach and four, first approached. Several persons, chiefly women, literally hung to the carriage, and to the harness of the horses. He was in the carriage alone. He was driven at a spirited pace to the Queen's entrance door; but Sir T. Tyrwhitt informed him that he could not pass into the Lord's House by that door. "There was," he said, "a special order to regulate the admission of members of the House of Commons. It was enforced with respect to all other members; it must also be observed by Mr. Alderman Wood. The members of the Commons must proceed through their own house, and the long gallery, to the throne-end of the House of Peers. There would be no difficulty in proceeding to the House of Commons; the passages were kept clear, and he could proceed by those means to the House of Lords." Mr. Alderman Wood replied, "That he did not desire to interfere with

any regulations, but he hoped he should be allowed to remain to hand the Queen out of her carriage." Sir T. Tyrwhitt added, " That he could have no objection to such attention, but every possible arrangement was made for the most respectful reception of her Majesty." Mr. Alderman Wood accordingly remained.

Alderman Wood's carriage was then driven out of the way, and that of her majesty was drawn up to the Queen's entrance. There was no crowd about the door; very few had been enabled to pass the barriers; and those who were present behaved in the most decorous manner towards the civil authorities and the military force. They loudly huzzaed as her majesty's carriage drew up; the regiment of Guards, who were the only soldiers at this time on the spot, presented arms by command of their officers, and the royal salute was played. At the Queen's entrance door, ready to receive her majesty, were stationed some of the lords' marshals, with their batons, and in their scarlet uniforms. Beyond them were some special constables, under the immediate direction of Mr. Lee, the high constable. In the doorway were officers of the House, and in the centre of them appeared Sir T. Tyrwhitt, with the rod and costume of his office, as usher of the black rod. Her majesty's servants in their scarlet liveries, stood on each side of the coach door, and opened it. Lady Anne Hamilton first descended, and she proceeded through the officers in waiting into

the first room, the peers' robing room. By this time all the Queen's counsel had descended from the Lords' and appeared in the door-way. They were all, of course, attired in the costume of the bar. Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, in silk gowns and long wigs, as the Attorney and Solicitor-general of her majesty : behind them were Dr. Lushington, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Tyndall. No other persons, than those thus particularly mentioned were allowed to be in the first room, or in the passage and entrance leading immediately into it.

Soon after Lady Anne Hamilton had left the carriage, the Queen descended. Alderman Wood handed her majesty down the carriage steps. Sir T. Tyrwhitt, the usher of the black rod, then took her majesty's right hand ; and immediately afterwards Mr. Brougham stepped forward, and took the Queen by the left hand. Her majesty paused for a short time, looked round her with much complacency, and then curtsied and bowed to those around her in an affable manner. The crowd on the outside had now considerably increased, as many had forced their way through the barriers and past the constables. They buzzed most lustily, and many exclaimed, "God send your Majesty a good deliverance !" The Queen having looked round her for a short time, entered the outer apartments of the House of Lords, conducted, in the manner already described, by Sir. T. Tyrwhitt and Mr. Brougham.

They proceeded through the peer's robing-room, along the passage leading thence to the staircase up which the peers pass to the body of the House of Lords. Her majesty was led up this flight of stairs, and conducted to the upper side-entrance appropriated to their lordships and the officers attached to the Lord Chancellor. This is on the left-hand side of the throne, which was entirely uncovered for the occasion.

The Queen having thus entered the House of Lords, her carriage was drawn away, and conducted, under the directions of Towshend, who was ordered by Sir T. Tyrwhitt to perform such duty, to Abingdon-street.

The Queen's carriage was succeeded by a chariot drawn by a pair of horses, with servants and coachmen wearing her majesty's livery. In it were the Hon. Keppel Craven and Sir W. Gall. They also passed through the Queen's entrance door, which was then closed. The lords' marshalsmen, the constables, and the high-constable's deputies, &c. retired into the open area fronting the House of Peers. The guards, who were under the piazza, closed in, and occupied the space from Cotton-garden to the peers' entrance.

In all the apartments connected with the Houses of Lords and Commons, the most decorous demeanour was observed. Spectators were not allowed to occupy the windows. Most of them were closed; and only officers of the House appeared at those which might be open. No per-



sons were allowed to be on the leads over the piazza of the House of Lords; indeed every where the completest regularity was observed.

After the royal carriages had withdrawn, the mob overpowered the constables at the barriers by St. Margaret's church, so far as to be able to break the carriage opening in the middle of the barriers. The dense torrent was irresistible. Thousands hurried on with impetuous fury, and soon filled the space of Old Palace Yard. The constables, however, rallied, and an obstruction was soon raised at the barriers, and thus checked the further irruption of the mob. Those thousands who had thus violently got immediately fronting the House of Peers, made direct for the Lords' entrance. They completely blocked up this entrance, and closed upon the soldiers; but the high-constable collected a party, and soon succeeded in driving the mob back. He was supported at the barriers by the mounted and dismounted patrol; but the space from the barriers to Bridge-street, Parliament-street, and New-Palace Yard, presented one solid mass of people. Above the barriers, at the end of Abingdon-street and College-street, there were also considerable crowds. Between them, however, the space was kept tolerably clear during the rest of the morning; and the peers' and other carriages drew up in lines in Abingdon-street.

It would be superfluous to enter into an account of the proceedings of the House of Lords,

as they are sufficiently and faithfully detailed in the Trial itself, we shall therefore merely confine ourselves to those circumstances and events which have an immediate reference to her majesty, in person, or which either in a remote or proximate degree have any influence upon the consummation of the plans which were at this time in agitation against her, and which by her malignant and powerful enemies were most openly and unequivocally avowed.

At ten o'clock precisely, on the morning of the 17th, the order of the House of Lords was read for calling over the names of the peers. Whilst the House was engaged in the preliminary steps, a few shouts without intimated the approach of the Queen. In a moment she entered by the door appropriated for the entrance of peers from the robing-room. She crossed the floor of the House at the foot of the throne, and occupied a chair placed for her in that part of the House usually appropriated to the members of the House of Commons. She was dressed in a black satin gown and white kid gloves, and wore a white veil thrown over her head-dress, which consisted of a plain lace cap. She was accompanied by Lord A. Hamilton and Lady Hamilton.

On her entrance, all the peers rose to receive her. She bowed to them, and lolling back in her chair, with an easy air of indifference, surveyed

the members of the House, without any apparent emotion. The list was then proceeded in.

As the time approached when the lords were expected to adjourn, the windows, balconies, and parapets of the houses, again became filled by ladies of distinction. The appearance which they presented was elegant in the extreme, and the interest manifested by them did honour to their feelings. At four o'clock, the bustle among the peers' carriages, and anxiety to press forward to the outer door, indicated the termination of the day's business in the House. Among the first carriages which drove off was that of his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester. The royal duke was loudly cheered by the people, and his royal highness repeatedly bowed in return. His Royal Highness the Duke of York rode from the House in the same manner as he arrived there, attended by his groom. The crowd pressed close around him, and a patrol of the guards made a movement as if to clear a passage, but his royal highness waved his hand as if to avoid the interference of the military. The multitude received the duke at his departure with the same enthusiasm which marked his arrival in the morning. Shouts of "Long live Frederick!" "Long live the Queen!" were echoed from all sides. His royal highness repeatedly bowed as he passed through the crowd, which continued to address him in the

most flattering manner while he remained within sight. The next personages recognised by the people were not so fortunate as to meet with a similar reception: they were the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Anglesea. These distinguished personages were on horseback. The crowd particularly pressed around the duke, and shouted "We must have the Queen—no foul play, my Lord—The Queen for ever!" Others exclaimed—"The army for ever, my Lord." And one person who was on horseback rode along-side the duke, and said "The Queen and the army." His grace rode on apparently indifferent to the surrounding bustle; he occasionally smiled at those of the crowd who pressed the nearest to him, and said "Yes, yes," to the reiterated exclamations of some of the most persevering among them who continued to vociferate "Long live the Queen!" The Marquis of Anglesea did not manifest the same command of temper: he spurred his horse, and seemed anxious to get rapidly through the crowd. Their lordships rode through the Horse-guards, the gates of which edifice were immediately closed as they passed, and the crowd prevented from entering St. James's Park. Earl Grey, Lord Holland, and several other peers were loudly cheered. But few of them had driven off when the Queen's carriage approached the door at which she had alighted; and her majesty again took her seat in it, and departed from the House

in the same state which marked her arrival in the morning. The immense multitude who surrounded her was, if possible, greater than in the morning—their enthusiasm the same, for it could not possibly be exceeded. The shouts of “Long live the Queen!” were universal and deafening. The ladies waved their handkerchiefs, and the demonstrations of popular attachment were loud and general, and each class in society seemed to vie with the others in an anxiety to pay homage to their Queen in this hour of her trial. Her majesty appeared somewhat exhausted by the fatigue and anxiety she must have sustained throughout the day. She repeatedly bowed to the people, and appeared deeply sensible of the extraordinary interest they manifested in her behalf. The Queen was escorted back to her residence in St. James’s-square by the Hon. Keppel Craven, Sir W. Gell, and Mr. Alderman Wood. The same military honours were paid her as she passed the sentinels at Carlton-Palace, and she alighted at her house exactly at five o’clock. St. James’s-square was thronged to excess by carriages filled by personages of distinction, who seemed anxious to see her majesty return. The crowd continued in front of the Queen’s residence until a late hour in the evening. We shall be very brief in our remarks on the proceedings of the first day of the trial of her majesty, but some circumstances of such important nature present themselves to the consi-

deration of the country and of after times, that to pass them over without notice would be a complete direliction of our duty.

The manner in which her majesty was treated at Rome, when by the decease of George III. she became Queen Consort of England, has been distinctly stated in a former part of this work, and we mention it now merely to draw the contrast of her reception at a court, completely under the influence of the court of her husband, with that, which she met with on her entrance into the house of lords. She was there at once, and as if instinctively, acknowledged in the character of Queen Consort, and all the honors which the illustrious individual could claim, were without hesitation paid to her.

It must have been a galling circumstance to some noble individuals then present to see themselves obliged to rise and pay to her those honors as Queen Consort, which according to the spirit of their own instructions had been refused her in a foreign country. Out of their own mouths were they condemned; and the cringing bow, the fawning look, and the sycophantic air of the courtier, were never more distinctly portrayed than on this occasion.

The first proceeding in the house was an attempt to get rid of the disgusting Bill of Pains and Penalties; and, accordingly, the Duke of Leinster moved that the order of the day for going on with the Bill of Pains and Penalties be

discharged; the motion was however negatived by 306 to 41 votes. Even the Marquis of Lansdown and Lord Grey, who usually vote with Opposition, voted on this occasion with the ministers, on the conviction, that a retreat was now impossible; but there was something in the tone of the ministers themselves so singularly mild towards the Queen, as to induce a belief that all hopes of accommodation were not even now shut out. They used their best endeavours to shew that the king had personally nothing to do with the question; and yet the only object of a bill of pains and penalties was evidently a divorce, which could not be demanded by the other mode of proceeding. This attempt to make a distinction between his majesty's desire for a divorce and a certain state necessity, was singularly wretched. The Queen was not married to the state, nor would the fact of her criminality, (supposing it for the sake of argument) have rendered her example contagious, though she retained a nominal rank when every other mode of punishment had marked her out as an object degraded—a character rendered null and void.

Mr. Brougham addressed their lordships against the Bill, in a speech distinguished alike for fervid eloquence, powerful reasoning, intense thought, and glowing language, every word of which will long be eagerly read and remembered by the country; but the most impressive part of his appeal derived its force from the description







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*Engraved by J. M. W. Turner, R. S. A., from a portrait by J. M. W. Turner, R. S. A.*

*Printed and Published by J. M. W. Turner, R. S. A., at the British Museum, London.*

which it gave of the generous spirit of his royal client. We allude to the passage in which he mentioned the Queen's commands to abstain from recrimination, unless forced to adopt a contrary course by the conduct of her adversaries. Nothing can exceed the humane feeling which was thus indicated by her majesty, goaded and insulted as she had been. It is not, however, for the purpose of introducing remarks of this kind that we mention the fact, but with a view to notice the singular and, upon every principle of British law, monstrous anomaly, that a divorce was now first in process in this country, in which the innocence or criminality of the party suing was not to be questioned, and in which common guilt was held to be no bar to the dissolution of the sacred rite of marriage. Here, therefore, was founded a revolution in our ecclesiastical law, as founded on the law of God.

Her majesty after her return from the House of Lords, dined about five o'clock, and at six went in her private carriage to Brandenburg-house. At two o'clock in the morning, one of her majesty's couriers arrived at Brandenburg-house, from Rome. The Queen was informed of his arrival, and instantly rose and examined the papers which her messenger had brought, arranged them in proper order, and sent them to her solicitor, Mr. Vizard, with written instructions respecting them.

By these despatches, her majesty received the

gratifying intelligence that persons of the highest rank voluntarily offered to proceed immediately to England, to attend as witnesses on her behalf.

In consequence of the near approach of the populace to the House of Lords on the 17th, and the interruption given to the proceedings within the House by the acclamations without—it was judged expedient, by the magistracy to have an additional barrier erected. Accordingly workmen were employed the whole of the night in effecting this object, and on the morning of the 18th there appeared a new barrier, extending from the corner of New Palace-yard, against Hillier's Coffee-house, to the palisades of the shrubbery on the opposite side of the way. But though additional precaution was thought necessary in this respect, the conduct of the populace had been so generally peaceful, that some relaxation took place in other quarters.

In St. James's-square, instead of the early ferment of the preceding morning, all was calm and quiet till long after eight o'clock; at that hour not even one solitary loiterer was to be seen; and the police took possession of the steps of the Queen's house without a single individual upon whom to exercise their peace-preserving qualities. It was not till nearly nine o'clock that those accommodative personages, the wagon-proprietors took up their ground, for the benefit of the curious, and their own

pockets. Then, however, they mustered more strongly even than on the former morning; and their vehicles were very soon all profitably filled; for the most part with persons of respectable appearance, and the majority of them, perhaps, of the softer sex. The influx of carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians was now incessant, and by half-past nine o'clock the square presented one vast amphitheatre of anxious spectators, of much more sedate and respectable demeanour and complexion than those composing the assemblage of the preceding day.

Her majesty did not arrive in St. James's square from Brandenburg-house until a quarter after ten o'clock, but the first appearance of her carriage, on turning into the square from Pall-Mall, was marked by a deafening shout from the crowd assembled. Instantly began the clapping of hands, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs; and in the occasional pauses of the cheering might be heard prayers for her majesty's success, with frequent cries of "God bless her majesty!" "Heaven bless our Queen!" in which female voices were particularly discernible. In the carriage with the Queen was Lady Anne Hamilton. The steps to the house were so extremely crowded, that a passage could with difficulty be made for the Queen and her attendants.

Her majesty having rested for a short time, the state coach, which for more than an hour had

been waiting in the square, was ordered to draw up, and the Queen ascended it, amidst the huzzaing of the multitude. The procession then moved slowly forward, in the same order that was observed on the preceding day. Mr. Alderman Wood advanced in front in a plain carriage. Then followed the Queen in her state coach. Two carriages succeeded: in one were the Queen's Chamberlains, and in the other were two ladies, attendants on her majesty.

As her majesty's carriage approached Carlton-house, every eye was turned upon the sentinels there on duty, to witness their reception of the Queen. It happened that the sentinels had been relieved about five minutes before the arrival of the procession in front of the palace, and, it is said, the instructions then given by the sentinels relieved to those who succeeded them, were "that they should take no notice whatever of the Queen." Of the four sentinels, however, at Carlton-house, one paid the customary respect to royalty, and presented arms to her majesty, as the carriage passed. This soldier was loudly cheered by the people, while the other three were ~~not~~ vociferously hissed, although it was very evident from their manner that they would gladly have displayed their loyal feelings had they not been prohibited by superior orders. As the procession passed the Admiralty, the people loudly expressed their dislike of the ministers, as was done on the preceding day. The sentinel on

duty at the Army Pay-office ordered arms as the carriage passed, and was almost borne away by the rush of the people. The two mounted sentinels at the Horse-guards showed no disposition to pay her majesty any respect, and in revenge the people waved their hats so close to the horses' eyes as to give the riders some trouble in managing them. The gate of the Horse-guards was kept closed, and the apparent indifference of the soldiers within the iron railing formed a singular contrast with the enthusiastic cheering and animated demeanour of the enormous mass of people moving with the procession. As if, however, to compensate for the conduct of the guards, the two sentinels on duty at the Treasury regularly presented arms as her majesty's carriage arrived in front of them respectively. The Queen bowed graciously, and the people cheered. Parliament-street presented a very animated scene. The street was extremely crowded, and every window, and even the roofs of houses, presented groups of people, all emulously expressing their affection and zeal for the Queen. The ladies universally waved white handkerchiefs, and wore white favours, at which her majesty seemed to be much pleased.

Some disposition was manifested, as the carriages approached the outer barriers, to take the horses from Alderman Wood's carriage, as well as from that of the Queen, and thus defeat the regulations of the civil authorities to keep out,

mobs, by dragging both carriages to the doors of the House of Lords ; this object, however, was frustrated. Alderman Wood's drove up to the door by which the Queen entered. Sir T. Tyrwhitt, who had been waiting some time to receive the Queen, told the marshalsmen to inform Mr. Alderman Wood, that neither he nor any member of the House of Commons could pass through that door. But the Alderman still persisted, and said "He must attend on the Queen." The carriage, however, was driven on, and thus was way made for the approach of that of her majesty, which then drew up. Alderman Wood opened his own coach-door in great haste, jumped out, and returned with the utmost rapidity to the Queen's entrance door. He was again informed by Sir T. Tyrwhitt himself that he could not enter. The Queen, having been informed of what was passing, hesitated to leave her carriage. Mr. Brougham approached and spoke to her majesty in the carriage. She appeared considerably exasperated, and directed an angry look towards the officers, and said, "Then let me have my chamberlain—let my chamberlain attend me." The chamberlain was quickly handed forth by the worthy Alderman. The Queen then bowed to Sir T. Tyrwhitt, who immediately approached, and handed her majesty out of the carriage, Mr. Brougham walking first, and Lady Anne Hamilton and the Queen's chamberlain followed. As soon as her majesty and her retinue had entered the

house, the door closed. The alderman retreated to the commoners' entrance.

At a quarter after four in the afternoon, the Queen again left the House. The state carriage, which is a landau, had been thrown open, and as her majesty seated herself in it, the soldiery, who had previously been drawn up in line, again received her with military honours. As the cavalcade repassed the barrier, the enthusiastic multitude received it with shouts of "God bless the Queen," &c. and she returned to her residence in St. James's-square, surrounded by a vast concourse of people, and greeted with loud plaudits. The square was previously crowded with persons, who had stationed themselves there to witness her return. The Queen, having entered the house, in a few minutes presented herself at the window of the drawing-room; shouts of acclamation instantly resounded through the place; whilst hats, handkerchiefs, and shawls were waving in every direction. Her majesty acknowledged these salutations by repeated inclinations of the head, and then gracefully waving her hand, she withdrew.

The multitude dispersed almost immediately after, and her majesty went to Brandenburg-house to dinner.

On the 19th, the mountain which had been so long in labour was delivered; or, in other words, the Attorney-general opened his charges against her majesty. On considering these charges the



first thing that strikes the mind is, that they were infinitely less precise, direct, and positive, than those which were preferred against her majesty in 1806, and most triumphantly refuted. In 1806 Lady Douglas swore that her majesty informed Lady Douglas of her majesty's being pregnant; that, independently of such confession, she (Lady Douglas,) knew of her majesty's pregnancy, and that she actually saw the child after it was born, and that her majesty declared that it was her own child. Lord Castlereagh declared, in his place in the House of Commons, that there was no doubt that these charges were false, and that Lady Douglas was perjured. In the former case, the criminal fact was directly sworn to by an English lady of education, rank, and independent fortune; in the present case, the criminal fact was to be indirectly inferred from circumstances sworn to by Italian servants, discarded for misconduct. But, from the dark insinuations that had been artfully propagated in mysterious whispers, it was thought by some, however falsely, that the Attorney would have to disclose what would not only disgust but shock the whole mass of the moral and civilized world. But so far from this being the case, the Attorney-general was only enabled, with the aid of his official magnifying powers, and all the light which could be concentrated into a focus from the illuminated intellects of his employers, to state the commonplace facts in every case of unlegalized intercourse

between persons of different sexes. The offence itself, which was charged against her majesty, was but a reiteration of what she was accused of in 1806, and of which she was acquitted on *ex parte* evidence, not even followed out to its own refutation, by commissioners, who had some of the strongest inducements which operate on our frail nature to be biassed against her. This impression was visible in a remarkable degree during the whole of the proceedings against her majesty, and the public saw through the tissue of inconsistencies and impossibilities which the Attorney-general put forth in opening his charges against her majesty. "It is true," he said, "that he would not state any thing that he did not believe he could not substantiate on proof." We have no more reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, than we should have to doubt the sincerity of the Unitarian who professed to defend the Christian religion as by law established, against the assaults of the Deist. We shall have, however, frequent occasion to notice the inconsistency and the tergiversation of the Attorney-general, the organ of the hidden prosecutors of her majesty, and we shall therefore now return to our historical account of the proceedings connected with the trial of her majesty.

Considerable attention was at this time excited by the inner line of works which were constructed for the protection of that honorable and honored body of individuals, the Italian witnesses, who

were brought over to this country at the expense of the public; to swear any thing and every thing against their benefactress, and who were to be defended against the assaults of that very public, by fortification, police boats, *chevaux de frise*, planking, paling, and palisadoes. The following will convey some idea of the precautions which were taken to insure the safety of those important personages, the Italian witnesses; and had Cotton-Garden been a besieged or a blockaded place, containing within its purlieus all that was great and honourable, not more efficient means could have been adopted for their protection, than were consummated for the protection of the Italian perjurers. In the first place, these works consisted of a gigantic paling, some twenty feet high or so, between the corner of Abingdon-street and that of the House of Lords. Within this paling, for several yards in depth, which left but a narrow space for the sentinel to move in, the pavement was broken up into formidable looking gulfs, the stones loosely scattered about. Above this broken surface, large quantities of sough timber were thrown with a sort of cunning artlessness, so that the whole formed a species of *chevaux de frise*, sufficient, at all events, to secure the Italians from the assaults of a troop of horse. These awful entrenchments seemed particularly to tickle the fancies of the people, for a viler mass of corruption, perjury, and ingratitude, had never entered into combination in this, or any other

portion of the civilized world, than was at this time to be found at Cotton-Garden. It was the very dregs and sediment of Italian treachery, concocted by the aid of English gold; and the people of this country saw the treasures of it wasted, in one of the most successful attempts which was ever practised, to destroy its virtue, its morality, and its honour.

But how different was the spirit displayed by the illustrious object of their treachery, in the answers which she gave to the numerous addresses which were presented to her, all of which breathe the purest philanthropy, the most ardent attachment to virtue, and the fullest confidence in a final triumph over her enemies. As a code of morality, they ought to be transmitted to posterity, and to be perused by the rising generation, as the sentiments of a great and noble mind, struggling beneath oppression, but supported by the consciousness of her innocence, and emerging at last with renovated splendour from the density of the gloom in which her enemies had attempted to envelope her.

How beautifully does the Christian sufferer allude to the loss of her daughter, and to her firm reliance in the dispensations of heaven, in the following answer which she gave to the address from Barnard Castle, which was presented by Dr. Lushington:—

My unfeigned thanks are due to the inhabitants of the town of Barnard Castle and its vicinity, for this cordial testimony of

affectionate attachment to their persecuted Queen. In the chequered scene of my eventful life, I have discerned the benevolent agency of that universal Father, whose afflictions are never cruel—and whose discipline, though often severe, is always kind. I have extracted many a sweet, even from the bitterness of woe; and in the thorny path of adversity I have collected many a flower.

From the dark shades of despondency, the Spirit of The Merciful has conducted me to the illuminating prospects of hope; and a light from heaven has darted on my soul, when I have been weeping over my daughter's early grave.

In my present circumstances, when I have to contend against an implacable foe for every thing that is dear to me as a woman and a queen, my mind preserves its wonted serenity, and I am calm amidst the storm. My conscience is without a pang;—and what have I to fear?

Again, if we wish to trace in her the real sentiments of the genuine patriot, tremblingly alive to the interests of the country, we have only to recur to her answer to the address of the Spitalfields Weavers.

I am in no small degree gratified by knowing that my good and my bad fortune, my misery and my happiness, the indignities which I have not deserved, and the honour which is my due, are not contemplated with indifference by the silk-weavers of Spitalfields. The prosperity of the nation is so intimately connected with that of its manufactures, that I cannot but feel a deep interest in the flourishing state of that long established manufacture of silk in Spitalfields, which gives bread to thousands, and supplies sumptuous decorations for so many of my own sex.

My mind loves to trace the progress, and my heart sympathises with the operations of ingenious skill, or of patient industry, in all the multiplicity of its toils, and all the variety of its products. I have been much affected by the sad privations

and pinching wants which in recent times the valuable artizans of this capital, and particularly the silk-weavers of Spitalfields, have endured, and which it is to be feared, in a greater or less degree, they still endure. Taxation, when it becomes excessive, instead of increasing production, generates despondency and paralyses the active powers; it then operates like a canker upon the national industry, and like a blight upon the happiness of mankind. If it is ordained in the Council of Heaven that I shall triumph over my enemies, my mind will be more at liberty to consider how I can best promote the noble cause of English industry in its diversified branches, and I shall not be inattentive to that in Spitalfields; as far as my limited means at present extend, and I will do what I can to effect that great object, though all I can do is much less than I would in different circumstances, and much less than the public good requires.

My example, however, may be more influential than my private expenditure; and if by this example I can encourage the growth of our native manufactures, it will be no small addition to my own personal enjoyment. I measure the sum of individual enjoyment by the number of my fellow-creatures with whom it is shared; for the highest degree of human happiness is that which beneficence reflects upon the heart from the happiness it has produced.

In the circumstances in which I am placed, I feel my interests inseparably identified with that of the people, and particularly with that of the great and enlightened body of English manufacturers. As all power is a trust for the benefit of others, and all authority only an institution for the common good, it shall be a fixed principle in my conduct to make the influence which I possess, and the station which I occupy, contribute in the greatest possible degree to the encouragement of national industry, and the consequent increase of the national prosperity.

In the performance of the offices of religion, her majesty was a most exemplary character;

and, although we are aware that no great faith ought to be attached to an outward show in the observance of the forms of religion, nor that any just estimate can be thence formed of the real character of the individual; yet in the particular case of her majesty, she was as free from hypocrisy, as she was from intolerance and fanaticism. Her accusers, indeed, in the plenitude of their malice, and their hatred of her virtues, which they never could reach themselves, hesitated not to stigmatise her and to load her with their opprobrium, because she had ventured to worship her Maker and her Saviour in the chapel of the Roman Catholic. Her enlarged and liberal mind told her that her Lord and her Redeemer were every where, and that it is not to the form under which they are worshipped that the divine attention is directed, but to the heart and the dispositions under which the prayer is offered.

During the residence of her majesty at Brandenburg-house, she never omitted to have the divine service performed before her on a Sunday, at which the whole of her household regularly attended. On Sunday the 20th, the divine service was performed by Dr. Parr, to whom is ascribed, and we believe not unjustly, the merit of embodying the sentiments of her majesty, in her energetic answers to the addresses of the people. Her majesty having partaken of an early dinner, to which a select party were invited, left

Brandenburg-house about five o'clock in her travelling carriage and four, for the purpose of taking an airing. She was attended by Lady Hamilton and Mr. Alderman Wood, and proceeded through Hyde-park, Constitution-hill, St. James's-park, the Horse-guards, Westminster-bridge, across the Borough to London-bridge, Bishopsgate-street, and the New-road to the Regent's-park, and thence to Hammersmith. Every where her majesty was received with ardent manifestations of respect and attachment. Through out the ride the carriage was driven rapidly, but so enthusiastic were the people in many places, that they actually hung to the traces and different parts of the carriage, to the imminent peril of their limbs, and even their lives. Several persons were thrown down by this daring conduct, but no accident of any serious nature occurred.

On the 21st, notwithstanding the wetness of the morning, and notwithstanding, too, the announcement that her Majesty would not go to the House of Lords again till the examination of the witnesses commenced, a great crowd of people had assembled opposite her residence in St. James's-square, so early as half past eight o'clock; and, before ten, the concourse was almost as great as upon any former morning. A great portion of the crowd were females; and for more than two hours did they abide the



pelting of the pitiless storm" with infinite patience.

About ten o'clock Mr. Alderman Wood arrived, and shortly afterwards went down to the House of Lords, in one of the Queen's private carriages, to wait the conclusion of the Attorney-general's statement; her majesty having signified her intention of going down to the house immediately on its close.

At a quarter past eleven her majesty reached St. James's-square in her state carriage. The moment her royal equipage was perceived turning into the square from Pall-mall, the most enthusiastic shouts ascended from the drenched multitude; neither the heavy rain, nor the heavy charges of the Attorney-general, appeared to have damped their ardour at all; and her majesty, as she was handed from her carriage by the Hon. Keppel Craven, was saluted on all sides with exclamations of "God bless your majesty!—May your majesty frustrate your enemies!—God save the queen!" &c. Her majesty acknowledged the gratulations by bowing graciously as she passed into the house.

The Attorney-general had finished his statement, after which a long conversation took place between their lordships, respecting the dates of the facts which he had stated; at the close of which her majesty entered the house, attended as usual by Lady Anne Hamilton, and took her

seat in a chair placed within the bar, about the distance of three yards from it, and which, though not directly opposite to, enabled her to confront the witnesses.

The Solicitor-general then called Theodore Majocchi, who, in a very few moments, was ushered in, and placed before the bar. He was a man of middle stature, decent appearance, and was handsomely attired.

The Queen, having fixed her eyes on him, exclaimed in a piercing tone, "Theodore! oh, no!" and was immediately conducted to a private apartment. When her majesty retired to the little room appointed for her use, adjoining the entrance to the house of peers, her manners were extremely hurried; she threw herself in a chair, and for some time did not utter a syllable. As it was possible when she did speak, that her observations might be overheard, Sir T. Tyrwhitt peremptorily desired that no person should be permitted to approach her apartment. In about an hour, she was joined by Mr. Alderman Wood, with whom she conversed for several minutes.

Respecting this circumstance the hireling printers were as usual most vociferous in their crimination of her majesty, representing her conduct on this occasion to have arisen from secret remorse, on beholding an individual before her, whom she knew was privy to her actions, and whom she had every reason to believe would not appear against her.

Now this supposed ignorance on the part of her majesty respecting the appearance of Majocchi, was engendered and hatched, in the turbid brains of some pensioned writer, for it was impossible that her majesty should not have known that Majocchi was engaged on the part of the prosecution. The French papers announced the fact to all Europe. In an article dated Vienna, July 26th, it is stated, that "many of the Italian witnesses against the Queen of England, have been here with Lord Stewart, Lord Castlereagh's brother. Among them is one Majocchi and his wife, and two children. These witnesses are well paid, Majocchi has ten francs a-day, his wife five, and each of his children four; besides an allowance of 150 francs a month for that part of his family which he left at Como, and which is paid by the English government."

This article appeared in many of the French, and in all the English papers\*. The unexpected appearance of Majocchi, therefore, could not have occasioned her majesty's emotion. It was an involuntary burst of horror and indignation, at beholding a person who had lived upon her bounty, now engaged to destroy her, and coming forward for the sake of lucre, with the most hardened effrontery, to act his shameful part in a drama, the characters of which had been cast, and which had been got up for representation in the English

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\* See the Traveller of the 12th of July.

House of Lords, by the honourable members of the Milan Commission.

Her majesty did not re-enter the house; but her return home, a little before four o'clock, was marked by the same demonstrations of attachment throughout the whole line, though the continued wind and rain prevented the usual large assemblages of people.

Her majesty, on her arrival in St. James's-square, immediately ordered her dinner, and having hastily partaken of that meal, she proceeded in her post chaise and four to Brandenburg-house. She seemed, on her departure, greatly to have recovered the agitation with which she was affected when she left the house.

The House of Commons met on the 21st, and adjourned to the 18th of September. Lord Francis Osborne moved as an amendment to Lord Castle-reagh's motion of adjournment, that an address be presented to his majesty to prorogue parliament. On this amendment, a short, but very animated discussion took place. Lord Francis condemned, in the strongest language, the injustice of the proceedings against her majesty, stated that he was determined to do all he could to prevent the bill from coming into that house, and that rather than be a party to the proceedings, he would vacate his seat. Several other members expressed themselves also in very strong terms with respect to the proceedings, and Mr. Wilberforce lamented that he had not been able

to make a second attempt at reconciliation before the last adjournment, though he thought it was due to her majesty that the charges should now be gone into. Mr. Brougham also thought the time for arrangement was gone by, and requested Lord Francis Osborne to withdraw his motion, which, however, the noble lord declined doing, though he did not press it to a division.

Mr. Brougham exposed, in a happy vein of irony, the circumstance of ministers departing, in this instance, from their practice in all similar cases, of prohibiting the publication of evidence till the close of any proceedings, for the purpose of not prejudicing the party or parties. The public did not overlook this conduct of ministers.

In the mean time, the trial of the Queen, as it proceeded, stickened in interest. The dark and cloven foot of perjury and subornation began to display itself, and even to the minds of those who came prepared with the belief that the truth, and nothing but the truth would be sworn to. This sentiment was even so strongly impressed upon the mind of the Lord Chancellor, that he gave notice of a motion, that their lordships should waive their privileges, in order to permit a prosecution of the witnesses on the Queen's trial; should they give perjured evidence. It must, however, be admitted, that this question had been proposed by Lord Grey, at the commencement of the proceedings; but the Lord Chancellor, like many other noble lords, were taken by sur-

prise by the strange and contradictory evidence which was brought forward.

At an early hour on the 23d, the people began to assemble in crowds in St. James's-square, and in the neighbourhood of the House of Lords. Before ten o'clock it was almost impossible to pass in front of her majesty's town residence. About half-past nine Mr. Alderman Wood arrived in his gig from Hammersmith. Her majesty did not arrive till a quarter or twenty minutes after ten.

When her majesty arrived, the square was crowded in a manner never equalled on any former day. It was completely filled with respectably dressed people, walking opposite to her majesty's house. A line of wagons was drawn up, in which the places were let for hire, and were filled with females. As her majesty passed along, the mighty mass seemed simultaneously to receive animation. Hats and handkerchiefs were waved, and every one not immediately close to the carriage was leaping up to catch a sight of the Queen.

The specimen which the public had had of the evidence against her majesty seemed to have given a confidence to the public enthusiasm on this occasion, and she was received less as a person who had a battle to fight than one whose triumph was assured. Her majesty's spirits seemed raised to the highest pitch by sympathy

and gratitude to the affectionate and exulting people.

At a quarter before eleven, the Queen left her house, but was compelled to proceed slowly from the pressure of the immense multitude. At Carlton-house there were loud cheers, the soldiers every where presenting arms. The windows were crowded with respectable persons, who joined most warmly in the enthusiasm of the people below. Her majesty was received in Palace-yard with the usual military honours. About the barriers even more caution than ever was used in the admission of people.

The approach of her majesty was always announced some time before her arrival, by the loud cheers with which she was greeted. This species of telegraphic communication extended from Brandenburg-house to Palace-yard. In the latter place, the signal of her approach was the order to the guards to prepare to do the honours that are paid to royalty.

At a quarter past eleven o'clock, the Queen's carriage drove into Palace-yard. Her majesty was accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton. She was dressed in black, and wore a white veil. Her majesty looked extremely well. In all the streets through which she passed, her majesty was most loudly and enthusiastically cheered.

On her return from the house, the crowds were greater, and the affectionate demonstrations

of the people more rapturous than on any former day. The whole of Parliament-street, the whole space before the barriers at Westminster-hall, the whole of the space about Charing-cross, and as far as St. James's-square, was crowded to excess, and people were still hurrying along the Strand, anxious to testify to her majesty their dutiful homage and heart-felt sympathy. It was expected that her majesty, as on former days, would retire from the House of Lords at four o'clock; she remained, however, till near five, to the great disappointment of the assembled multitudes. On leaving the House, she was saluted in the accustomed manner by the military, and cheered with the most rapturous shouts by the spectators within the barriers. The exclamations "God bless your majesty," "May you triumph speedily over all your persecutors," were so generally heard, that it was difficult to determine what feeling was predominant, whether sympathy for the sufferings and admiration for the courage of her majesty, or indignation at the inhuman treatment of which she was made the object.

Her majesty had scarcely alighted from her carriage, when the procession with the Bethnal-green Parish Address was seen approaching up George-street, in a long line of carriages, preceded by several persons on horseback, and surrounded by a shouting multitude. It was some minutes before the procession could approach the



door. At length, however, a way was made for them, and they drew up.

Her majesty gave them instant audience, when Mr. Jennery, the senior Churchwarden, read the Address.

To which her majesty returned the following gracious answer :—

The Churchwardens, Overseers, and Vestrymen of the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal-green, are requested to accept my cordial thanks for this spontaneous tribute of affectionate regard.

The present mode of proceeding against me in the House of Lords, may well alarm those who have any regard for the political welfare or the moral interest of the nation. Though the primary object of the Bill of Pains and Penalties is to divorce me from his majesty, yet it is hypocritically pretended that his majesty is not a party in the case. An abstract term is employed, in order to cover the deception, and the state is substituted for his majesty. But the state, if it means any thing, must mean the people, collectively considered. But the people, collectively considered, instead of desiring a dissolution of my marriage with his majesty, have expressed the most indubitable desire that that marriage may not be annulled, but that I may remain Queen Consort of these realms, and be invested with all the rights, privileges, and immunities which the law has appropriated to that royal dignity.

To pretend that his majesty is not a party, and the sole complaining party in this great question, is to render the whole business a mere mockery—the reprobation of the good, the jest of the thoughtless, and the contempt of the wise. His majesty either does or does not desire the divorce which the Bill of Pains and Penalties proposes to accomplish. If his majesty does not desire the divorce, it is certain that the state does not desire it in his stead ; and if the divorce is the desire of his majesty, his majesty ought to seek it on the same terms as his

subjects ; for, in a limited monarchy, the law is one and the same for all ; or otherwise, the mere volition of the monarch is paramount to the law ; and the government becomes a despotism.

The Bethnal-green procession had scarcely departed, when the deputation from the Town of Sheffield arrived. Although fatigued with the ceremonies of the day, her majesty ever attentive to the convenience of those who were to pay their homage to her, countermanded her carriage, which was ordered to convey her to Brandenburg-house, and the Sheffield deputation was received in the most flattering and condescending manner. Her majesty returned the following answer to the Sheffield Address :—

I shall never be unmindful of the obligation which the inhabitants of the Town of Sheffield and its vicinity have conferred upon me, by this honest testimony of their fervent zeal for my interest, their tender sympathy for my sorrows, and their generous resentment of my wrongs.

Though benefits ought to be written in marble, and injuries in the dust, yet the injuries I have endured have been too many in number, and too grievous in their kind, to be readily obliterated from my recollection. But, though my memory retains the impression, I have not suffered the spirit of revenge to rankle in my breast. It would have been well for me, and perhaps not ill for the country, if my oppressor had been as free from malice as myself ; for what is it but malice, of the most unmixed nature, and the most unrelenting character, which has infested my path, and waylaid my steps, during a long period of twenty-five years ? Malice of this description, of such long continuance, and such extraordinary intensity, has certainly been productive of great misery to myself ; but I may well

repress the sentiments of revenge, when I reflect that it must have been productive of much more inquietude in that mind which could listen to its suggestions, and in that bosom which could cherish a spirit so adverse to goodness, and so incompatible with happiness.

Her majesty arrived at her residence in St. James's-square, from Brandenburg-house, on the 24th, about ten minutes before ten o'clock. She was attended as usual by Lady Anne Hamilton, and the crowd assembled round her residence was as great as on any former occasion.

At ten o'clock, the carriage of her majesty's chamberlains drew up, and the Hon. Keppel Craven alighted to attend her majesty; but Sir W. Gell remained in the carriage on account of his lameness.

From this time till her majesty's departure, the crowd increased continually, and the cheering was loud and incessant. Her majesty more than once approached the open window of the drawing-room, and bowed to every part of the vast assembly.

At twenty minutes past eleven, the state carriage drew up; it was thrown open in consequence of the fineness of the day, and the Queen descended to it, leaning on the arm of Mr. Craven. Her majesty, this day, wore a white satin hat with a superb plume of white ostrich feathers, and she was wrapped in an ample grey cachemire shawl. As she seated herself in the carriage, the cheers and exclamations were re

doubled, and the females especially seemed to set no bounds to their enthusiasm. Many of them rushed forward in spite of the utmost efforts of the police-officers to restrain them, and as her majesty crossed the footpath to her carriage they completely surrounded, and almost overwhelmed her with their kindness. Lady Hamilton was at length suffered to take her seat in the carriage, and it then moved slowly from the door, preceded, surrounded, and followed by an immense multitude continually cheering. In her progress to the House, her majesty was every where received with ardent manifestations of sympathy and attachment. The windows, the balconies, &c. were again crowded with ladies, who appeared to vie with each other in demonstrations of regard towards her. In short, had her majesty triumphantly refuted the charges against her, she could scarcely have had a prouder and more cordial reception.

At the barriers, her majesty was received by the military with the usual honours paid to royalty, and she entered the House about twenty minutes before twelve, when she proceeded directly to her private apartment.

At half-past four o'clock, her majesty returned to her residence in St. James's-square, attended, if possible, by still greater and more ardent multitudes than in the morning. Besides the immense crowds on foot, the whole space from Parliament-street to Charing-cross was literally

filled with coaches, wagons, &c. all covered with people; Cockspur-street and Pall-Mall were nearly as full; and in St. James's-square the crowd was so dense, that for some time the state carriage was unable to proceed.

Her majesty, after having ascended to the drawing-room, again appeared at the windows, and bowed repeatedly in the most condescending and cheerful manner to the multitude below.

An immense concourse of people remained as usual in the neighbourhood of the House of Lords, along Parliament-street, &c. to witness the departure of the Peers, and scarcely one departed without either censure or applause. The Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Anglesea rode on horseback together, and they were again pursued with the hissings and hootings of the mob. The noble duke took this treatment very coolly, merely smiling when the yells were at the loudest; but the gallant marquis had not such command of his temper; he seemed very indignant, repeatedly turning round in an angry posture. This drew the general attention, and the increase of lookers-on augmented the insolence of the yellers, which added to the anger of the gallant marquis, so that they passed through the Horse-guards into the Park, followed by a great concourse of people. Here they put their horses into better speed, in the expectation, apparently, of outriding their clamorous attendants. The Duke of Wellington succeeded in this; but

the marquis lingered irresolutely, and at length, making a full stop, he demanded of his persecutors, "Why do you hiss me?" Loud shouts of "The Queen! the Queen!" was the only reply; and his lordship, in continuation, exclaimed, "If you want me to do any thing contrary to my conscience, I must tell you, I would rather you ran me through the body!" This called forth loud cheers from the crowd; but at the next moment the cry of the "Queen!" was renewed, and the gallant marquis, losing all patience, put spurs to his horse and left them.

An excellent *bon mot* is related of the Duke of Wellington, who on one of these occasions was much pressed by the crowd, vociferously exclaiming, "The Queen!" the Queen!"—"Well then," said the gallant duke, "Here is the Queen, and may all your wives be like her."

The 24th was a glorious day for the cause of her majesty; the conspiracy against her received on that day its death-wound from the examination alone of the perjured witness Majocchi—the celebrated, famous, and infamous *Non mi Ricordo*. This witness, who at the commencement of the examination, swore that he did not understand a word of English, was discovered to have been living at Gloucester as a servant after his dismissal from the service of her majesty; and at which place he damned his own evidence given at the House of Lords, by constantly asserting the Queen to be "an excel-

**TESTIMONY OF CAROLINE,**

"a good woman;" but on being asked whether she had ever declared that her majesty had never done any thing improper, or indecorous, he answered *on mi Ricordo*.

enabled to lay before the public, one of the documents transmitted from Gloucester on the subject, and the contents of which completely opened the eyes of the public to the infamy and depravity of this notorious witness.

*Gloucester, August 23d.*

I am to be a well-wisher of the Queen. The first witness against her I have every reason to believe is a man who has been with Mr. Adam Hyatt, who brought him over from France. He always spoke in the highest terms of her majesty; but he had been offered a considerable sum of money, to appear for life, if he would appear against her. I can find no creditable people in Gloucester to whom he told this. I trust you will make known these circumstances to Alderman Watts; and some person may then be sent from London to make the necessary inquiries here.

**JOHN MARSH.**

To Mr. John Watts, 21, Castle-street, Oxford-street.

There was not, indeed, scarcely a single iota of this fellow's evidence which did not tend to shew him in the light of one of the most perjured witnesses which ever dared to present himself at a bar of justice. During his examination, he made several references to the British embassy at Vienna, which drew an explanation from Lord Ellenborough; by whose statement it appeared, that Lord Stewart was not, and could not have been at Vienna, during any part of the time

at which Majocchi stated himself to have been there.

From the testimony of Italian witnesses, the mind will turn with a feeling of refreshment to the evidence of Englishmen. Captains Pechell, of the *Clorinde*, and Briggs, of the *Invincible*, were examined; their evidence, on reference to the trial, affected the Princess in no way whatever. In a former part of this work, we alluded to the circumstance of Captain Pechell having recollected that Bergami had waited on the Princess at table in the month of March 1818, refused to sit down to dine with the same Bergami, after his elevation, in December. This fact was now proved upon the trial, and it is certainly impossible to argue upon men's feelings of propriety; but we cannot refrain observing, that Captain Pechell dealt out a hard measure to Signor Bergami. We can recollect a certain young man, whose name we will not mention, who had been used to wait at table on Mrs. Clarke and an illustrious individual, and to whom, on the solicitation of the lady, a commission was given in the army. At the time the investigation was going on, the young man was serving in America, but we never heard that the officers of the British army refused to dine with that officer when the method of his advancement was made known. There may, however, be an essential difference between the promotion of an Englishman and an Italian; at all events, it is certain that there is a wide and



ference in the quarter from which that promotion emanates, in regard to the supposed degree of respectability which is attached to it.

The zealous manner in which the people of this country espoused the cause of her majesty, must have been highly gratifying to her feelings; and a particular circumstance occurred at the time, which must have convinced her enemies, that notwithstanding the petty shifts to which government resorted, to annoy and harrass her, and to humble her in the opinion of their adherents—yet that the people were roused to the indignities which were so lavishly heaped upon her, and that they were determined in every instance, by their combined efforts, to repair the injury which she had sustained.

The circumstance of the refusal on the part of government, to restore to her majesty the plate which had been given to her by his late majesty, on the plea that it was a loan, in the usual manner to the members of the royal family, excited amongst the people an excessive degree of indignation, and measures were immediately set on foot to supply her majesty with a service of plate, by a voluntary contribution from each person, of one shilling. That this measure excited the spite and resentment of them who thought the Queen of England not worthy of a service of plate, cannot for a moment admit of a doubt; but it was a noble proof of the independence of the English people, and of their hatred of every thing which

bore the slightest relation to persecution or oppression.

That her majesty was fully aware of this sentiment existing in the minds of the English people, is evident, from the following answer which she gave to the Alston address.

I cannot be insensible to the obligations which I owe to the inhabitants of Alston and its vicinity, for this affectionate address.

When I had been for some years upon the Continent, I was told that the people of England had forgotten me in my absence, and that I had become an object of indifference and aversion. But I no sooner appeared on the British shore, than the whole kingdom seemed to have only one heart and one voice; and while that heart felt for my sufferings, that voice was raised in generous acclamations of transport and joy at my return.

If I had experienced from the government the attention due to my rank—if I had received the homage of the public authorities in a manner suitable to the high dignity of Queen Consort of these realms, the people might have contemplated me with little more than ordinary regard; the parade of royalty would have diminished the sympathy for the sufferings of the Queen. The homage of the noble would have chilled the ardour of sympathy in the middle and inferior ranks. But when the people beheld me insulted and reviled, stripped of all the trappings of authority, and sheltering my head in the house of a private gentleman, they instantly rallied round my person with enthusiastic devotedness, and convinced me that no sovereign can be so secure as in the affections of the people. All the pomp of royal power is but mere empty pageantry, where it is not supported by that heartfelt, spontaneous, unbought love of the nation, which, in this enlightened age, will never be conferred upon any sovereign who is not a friend to the freedom and the happiness of mankind.

Her majesty expresses nearly the same sentiments in her answer to the Bolton address.

The inhabitants of Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, and its vicinity, have convinced me, by this unaffected testimony of their regard, that they sincerely sympathise with my sufferings, and that they consider the injuries done to me as done to themselves. Every loyal subject immediately identifies his interest with that of his Queen; for, it is only by supporting his Queen against her enemies, that he can protect himself from the peril of tyranny, or his children from the certainty of servitude.

If the desperate faction, which is at once an enemy to the general liberty, and to individual happiness, shall succeed in accomplishing the project of my degradation, the nation will have no safeguard against the inroads of despotism. When every sacred principle of the constitution, every protecting rule of the law, every hallowed maxim of equity, can, in the person of the queen, be outraged with impunity, what is to preserve any other subject from similar oppression?

That system cannot be good which is at war with the spirit of the age—which cannot exist without diminishing the common stock of national liberty, without stopping the free circulation of opinions, or abridging the intellectual freedom of man. That system cannot be good which can extinguish the charities of neighbourhood, abate the love of country, and produce the desire of expatriation. Men will run away from misery: but that misery must be extreme which causes them to forsake the graves of their fathers, and to leave the land of their nativity.

When the people of England so generously sympathise with my sufferings I should have no heart at all, or only a heart of stone, if I did not participate in their sorrows, and condole with their wrongs. My sympathies all harmonise with those of the people: we have one common interest: and that interest is one and indivisible.

In the mean time, the difficulties in the proceedings on the Bill of Pains and Penalties in-

increased from day to day. The House of Lords found themselves in a dilemma from which they could not extricate themselves: they could neither persevere in the course which they originally adopted, nor could they retract without injustice to the one party or the other, and this arose in a great degree from the original step of withholding the names, descriptions, and addresses of the witnesses who were to be called. This was a most fearful and ominous resolution, and many noble peers saw the danger of the precedent it might set to their own posterity. It was not, therefore, the mere question of the queen's guilt or innocence that agitated every mind—it was not the unheard of attempt at breaking asunder the religious bond of marriage by a divorce, not called for by either of the parties, that created this universal interest in the cause, but it was the constitutional jealousy resulting from a violation of all the rules established for the security of life, property, and honour, by the wisdom of our ancestors.

We must refer our readers to the trial itself, for an exposition of the dilemma into which the prosecutors of her majesty were thrown, by their anomalous mode of proceeding, and which will be handed down to posterity as one of the brightest instances of legislative ingenuity.

At half past ten, on the morning of the 26th, her majesty, attended by Lady Hamilton, in her travelling chariot and four, entered St. James's—

square, and the whole place instantly rang with acclamation. The Hon. Keppel Craven handed her majesty from the carriage, and as she passed into the house, the crowd, especially those immediately around the door (for the most part females), poured forth a world of boisterous benedictions upon her head. Her majesty ascended to the drawing-room, and the shouts and acclamations continuing, she shortly after appeared at the centre window, and bowed repeatedly to the multitude.

At eleven, the state carriage, thrown open, was brought to the door, and her majesty descended to it from the drawing-room, supported by the Hon. Mr. Craven and Mr. Alderman Wood. Her majesty wore a gown of black Chinese spotted crape, over a black satin slip, with a white satin hat, and superb ostrich plume. The crowd again received her with loud cheers, and her majesty bowed and smiled with great affability. Her majesty and Lady Hamilton having taken their seats, the carriage moved forward; her majesty protecting herself from the rays of the sun with an ivory handled parasol of purple silk, richly fringed with white.

The carriage with the chamberlains followed, and as the procession passed through the street, it was, as usual, greeted by the great bulk of the assembled crowds with every demonstration of sympathy and attachment, in many cases with the most devoted enthusiasm.

The sentinels posted in the way, and the military at the barriers presented arms, till she reached the door of the House of Lords; and as she was handed from her carriage by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the fifes, drums, and trumpets greeted her with a royal salute.

Her majesty immediately inquired what witness was being examined, and having been informed that it was the German chambermaid, she withdrew to her retiring room.

Her majesty remained until half-past twelve in this room, attended by her chamberlains and Lady Anne Hamilton. She did not enter the House, and having been informed that their lordships were about to adjourn, she returned home. From the suddenness of her departure the crowd was not so great as usual, but a vast concourse of persons assembled in St. James's-square in the course of the afternoon, in expectation of witnessing her departure for the night to her villa. This took place at half-past five, and her majesty drove off amidst the loud cheers of crowds assembled.

In the course of the evening, several respectable gentlemen, who had arrived in town from Gloucester, had a long conference with the Queen's legal advisers and Mr. Alderman Wood, at her majesty's residence in St. James's-square; at the close of which, Mr. Alderman Wood went to Brandenburg-house. He returned to St. James's-square on the following morning, where

he was again met by Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, &c. and the gentlemen abovementioned, and the whole party went down to Brandenburg-house together.

On Sunday, the 28th, the whole of the queen's household attended divine service, which was performed at Brandenburg-house, before her majesty, by the Rev. Mr. Fellowes.

On the subject of her majesty's strict attention to her devotional exercises, we have been favoured with the following communication from a most respectable clergyman, who performed the divine service in her majesty's household since her return to England.

"At a time when the press teems with observations on the conduct of the queen, it is remarkable, that not one has attempted to pourtray her majesty's most amiable and strikingly serious and devout deportment in religious worship. Few have been so far privileged as to be present on the occasion. It, however, has fallen to the lot of the writer, to have had the very high honour of officiating before her majesty, on the third Sunday after her arrival in England; and he conceives it a paramount duty to offer to the public his unsolicited testimony of the queen's most exemplary and devout deportment during the whole of our church service; and he wishes to do so at this particular time, because, from the proximity of the proceedings in the House of Lords, the unsolicited testimony of a minister of the Church of England in her majesty's favour, will doubtless have its weight with that noble house, and with every well-regulated mind throughout the empire. He, therefore, does not hesitate to say, that a stricter attention to divine worship could not be evinced by any person, high or low, than was manifested by our most excellent queen, throughout the entire performance. All the responses, as well as the alternate verses in the Psalms,

were delivered by her majesty with the utmost pathos and propriety. It was impossible not to catch a feeling of devotion from the illustrious personage. On every occasion when our venerable rubric directed kneeling, the queen, conscious of the more immediate presence of the Deity, invariably fell low on her knees on the floor, not seeking and not having any prop to lean on, but most diligently intent on the awful and solemn exercises in which her whole heart appeared to be engaged; nor, after the conclusion, did her majesty rise, until she had offered up a secret prayer to the Most High for acceptance in his sight. If, then, a nation is highly favoured, where the great and the illustrious are examples of piety and virtue, Britain is truly blest in its present queen. And, as to judge of a tree by its fruit is the only certain method of forming a right judgement, so it will be admitted, that a behaviour so strikingly exemplary, cannot but emanate from a heart which is the seat of purity and innocence, honour and religion."

On Sunday, at two o'clock, C. F. Palmer and J. B. Monck, Esqrs., the members for the borough of Reading, attended at Brandenburg-house, and presented to her majesty the queen an address signed by upwards of two thousand inhabitants; to which address her majesty returned the following answer:

The patriotic inhabitants of the ancient borough of Reading have given me a strong proof of their attachment in this affectionate address.

All institutions which are made for such a mutable being as man ought to vary with his character and habits, and should adapt themselves to his progressive improvement in political knowledge, and in knowledge of other kinds. Those truths which were formerly confined to a few, are now open to the perception of the many. Political knowledge is in a great measure generalized. Clear ideas are now substituted for the vague phrases of past times. The captive has burst his intellectual



chains. The mind is relieved from its long thralldom to feudal prejudices, and a spirit has arisen which will not endure servitude under any of its imposing forms.

As government cannot stop the march of intellect any more than they can arrest the motion of the tides, or the course of the planets, it behoves them to yield in time to that force of opinion which must be finally irresistible; and to conduct it, ere it be too late, to those results which, without endangering the public tranquility, are in unison with the light of the age, and conducive to the best interests of civilized man.

My adversaries have all along treated me as if I were insensible to the value of character; for why else should they have invited me to bring it to market, and let it be estimated by gold? But infamy is not with me an affair of arithmetical calculation. A good name is better than riches; for I do not dread poverty, but I loathe turpitude, and I think death preferable to shame.

The crowds in St. James's-square, at a very early hour, on the morning of the 28th, were immense; and at ten o'clock it was almost impossible to walk along Pall-mall, Cockspur-street, &c., in the direction of Charing-cross; so thronged were the flag-ways with persons of both sexes, and of the most respectable appearance, moving towards St. James's-square. All the other avenues leading to her majesty's residence had a similar appearance, but not in the same degree. In St. James's-square, the steps up to all the hall doors were filled with ladies, and a line of wagons, furniture-carts, &c., in some parts two, in others three deep, was drawn up before Lady Francis's house, and crammed with well-dressed females. The street leading from Charing-cross

down to Westminster, was also choked up with people, particularly that part of it next the barrier; but for the whole way, the steps, railings, walls, &c., were hung with persons, anxiously expecting to catch a sight of their queen as she passed along. Her majesty, however, did not arrive in town till half-past twelve o'clock, as she naturally expected that the greater part of this day would be spent in debating, and her attendance therefore unnecessary at the House of Lords.

Her majesty returned from the House of Lords about four o'clock, amidst the cheers of an immense multitude; she then took a hasty dinner with Lady Anne Hamilton, and prepared to receive the Cripplegate address, which was to be presented at five o'clock. Meanwhile the crowd augmented to a degree never before witnessed. Even so early as two o'clock, every part of St. James's-square was filled with persons of the most respectable appearance. A double, in some places a triple, row of wagons, the greater number of them covered with matting, and filled with elegantly-dressed females, were drawn up round three sides of the square. The windows of almost all the houses were studded with ladies. Between four and five o'clock, a long line of private carriages drove in succession past her majesty's residence; the ladies and gentlemen who were in them waving their handkerchiefs, and the coachmen and footmen their hats. The scene

which the square at this moment presented, cannot be described—it was a perfect swarm of people, exhibiting the strongest enthusiasm: hats and handkerchiefs waving over the surface of the crowd; and when her majesty condescended to appear to this multitude of her loyal and affectionate subjects, shouts and huzzas filled the vault of heaven, while the females, with characteristic delicacy, lisped in under accents, “God bless the Queen!”—“May your majesty triumph!”—“May innocence prevail!”

About half-past five o'clock, the deputation from the ward of Cripplegate, which consisted of twenty-eight landaus, almost all of them with four horses, entered St. James's-square. This deputation had proceeded along the Strand, Cockspur-street, Pall-mall, &c., and was everywhere received by the multitudes, which at that hour filled the streets, with looks and expressions of the liveliest sympathy. There were about 160 gentlemen of the first respectability in Cripplegate in this deputation. They were all dressed in black, with white favours on their breasts. Mr. Under-sheriff Pullen, and three other common council men of the ward, in their gowns, were among the number. Mr. Stevens, the seconder of the address, had the honour of reading and presenting it to her majesty, who received it with that gracious condescension which at all times distinguished her, and returned the following answer:

The citizens of London have never deserted their post when tyranny attacked the rights of individuals, or threatened the constitutional liberties of the nation. In this critical period, when both individual right and general liberty are vitally assailed in the person of the Queen, I have found in the citizens of London my most intrepid supporters and my most zealous friends; and among the foremost of those supporters and friends, the grateful feelings of my heart tell me that I ought ever to number the householders and inhabitants of the Ward of Cripplegate-without.

Unlimited power ought to be given to no man, unless it could at the same time be united with unlimited wisdom; but as Providence does not usually bestow a much larger portion of wisdom or of virtue upon kings, than upon other individuals, it is necessary that their power should be circumscribed within strict limitations, in order to render it beneficial to mankind.

The power of the laws is good, because it is power without passion; but who would approve discretionary power, in an individual who is the slave of his appetites, or remarkable only for his fatuity? Where power is limited by fixed laws for the common good, those laws which may be called fundamental, cannot be changed without the consent of the people, for whose good they were established. A limited monarchy, with fundamental laws which may be capriciously changed, is, in fact, an arbitrary government. It is not the government of unimpassioned law, but of fickle inclination.

The Bill of Pains and Penalties, which is pending against me, is an anomaly in a free government. It is an assumption of power without limitations; it is a domination that spurns all control: it begins with setting aside every existing law which has any reference to the protection of the individual against those Pains and Penalties which the bill purposes to inflict.

If, therefore, such a Bill of Pains and Penalties should pass, it may, perhaps, hereafter be proposed to the people of England to consider how far it ought to be obeyed. It can have no claim to obedience, as an act emanating from legitimate authority; for no authority is any further legitimate, than as it is exer-

cised within those fixed constitutional limitations, by which it was originally circumscribed, and for the good of the people, for whose good alone it was bestowed. In a limited monarchy all power must be a trust; but the very nature of a trust supposes an accountableness to some higher authority, for otherwise a trust might be changed at the pleasure of the trustee.

If it be said that the enactment of a Bill of Pains and Penalties is only the exercise of a constitutional power, I answer, that no unconstitutional power can be constitutionally exercised. How can a breach of the law be conformity to law?

Though, therefore, this Bill of Pains and Penalties should be solemnly enacted, it may not be the less an unconstitutional act. Perhaps it will be said, "What then, cannot Kings, Lords, and Commons, do as they please?" I answer, No. Their power is only a trust, limited by law; and what is a trust never can suppose unrestrained volition or arbitrary agency.

If the power of Kings, Lords, and Commons, is limited by the fundamental laws of the realm, their acts are not binding when they exceed those limitations. If it be asked, "What then, are Kings, Lords, and Commons amenable to any higher authority?"—I distinctly answer, Yes. "To what higher authority?"—To that of God and of the people.

The deputation had then the honour of kissing her majesty's hand, after which they retired to the hall to wait for their carriages. Her majesty's carriage at this time drove up to the door, and a line was immediately formed through the gentlemen in the hall and the crowd at the door for her majesty to pass, who was pleased to apologise for the interruption. On entering her carriage the exulting cheers of the crowd resounded through the whole square and neighbourhood, and continued while it was in sight. The multitude then began to disperse, and had entirely disappeared.

about the time that her majesty reached Brandenburg-house.

The popularity of her majesty appeared to increase daily. St. James's-square was again filled on the 29th, at an early hour, with a vast multitude of respectable people; some thousands of whom kept their standing the whole day with infinite patience. Of these the ladies were in the proportion of at least three to one, and among them were many of the Society of Friends.

Her majesty arrived from her Villa at a quarter past twelve; and was received with the usual fervent acclamations of the vast concourse assembled. Upon finding that Mr. Wood was not returned from the House, she instantly despatched one of her *suite* to inquire the state of the proceedings. At two o'clock Mr. Wood returned, having left the messenger still waiting at the House for the close of the debate. In about half an hour the messenger returned, bringing the result of the debate, and the division which had taken place upon it. The state carriage was immediately ordered to the door, and in a few minutes her majesty set forward for the House, in the usual state, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering of the male part of the crowd, and the ardent benedictions of the softer sex, whilst hats and handkerchiefs were waving every where in glorious confusion. The same scene of popular attachment was displayed all the way to the bar.

riers, which her majesty entered soon after three o'clock.

She did not remain more than an hour in her retiring-room, and returned to St. James's-square, her return being marked with every demonstration of undiminished regard. St. James's-square was, if possible, more crowded than in the forenoon.

As her majesty alighted from her carriage, a poor, but clean-looking woman, apparently between seventy and eighty years old, pressed through the officers and attempted to put a neatly-folded paper into her hand. The Queen, however, put it back gently, and then passed hastily into the house. After the lapse of a few seconds, and whilst the door was still open, the poor woman, at the suggestion of a bystander, followed her majesty into the hall; but the Queen had ascended to the drawing-room, and the woman was obliged to content herself with leaving her paper in the hands of Mr. Hieronymus.

Her majesty set out for Brandenburg-house about half-past six o'clock, at which time there could not be fewer than ten thousand persons present.

Her majesty, at the suggestion or counsel, came to town at an early hour on the 30th, and, after delaying a few minutes in St. James's-square, proceeded to the House of Lords, where she arrived exactly at eleven o'clock. The multitude who attended her were not so great as

the day before, but their love and dutiful devotion were expressed with equal ardour.

Her majesty's return from the House of Lords, was one of the most inspiring sights ever, perhaps, witnessed. From Charing-cross to New Palace-yard was one continuous mass of people, through which the Queen's carriage moved with the utmost difficulty—the crowd, in succession, as her majesty proceeded, waved their hats and handkerchiefs; and the ladies, who filled the windows and balconies, exhibited every demonstration of respect and affection, which their ardent feelings could suggest. Her majesty's carriage was opened as a landau, which allowed the Queen, with her habitually graceful condescension, to acknowledge the pleasure which she received from the homage of her devoted subjects.—After she had remained some time at St. James's-square, her majesty proceeded to Brandenburg-house, and retired to rest at an early hour.

Her majesty up to this date, had been very strenuous in her applications to government to provide a town residence for her, suitable to her rank and dignity, and it was intimated to her on the part of government, that the house of the Duke of Cambridge in South Audley-street should be provided for her reception; but it was afterwards stated that some difficulties had arisen to prevent the accomplishment of the business. Her majesty was, however, convinced that these dif-



difficulties were not of an insuperable nature, on the contrary, that they rather existed in imagination than in reality, and she therefore wrote a letter to Colonel Stevenson, requesting a peremptory answer, and stating her anxiety to get possession of that house to be, that the price fixed upon by the Duke of Cambridge, before he left England, were many thousands less than the price of the house of Lord Carnarvon in Grosvenor-square, which was in contemplation for her majesty. The sequel will shew that no real intention existed in the minds of ministers to provide a town residence for her majesty, and that the whole of the affair was merely another instance of that temporising spirit, which distinguished all their actions which had any reference to the comfort or the establishment of the Queen.

Addresses were at this time presented to her majesty from Ludlow, Liverpool, Worcester, and Bridport, and from the ladies of Bath; to the latter her majesty gave the following answer:—

The female inhabitants of the City of Bath will accept my warmest acknowledgments for an Address, which has deeply interested my sensibility. Tenderness and delicacy are the most admired characteristics of our sex; and they are the most deserving of admiration. The female inhabitants of the City of Bath appear to be eminently distinguished by their truly feminine captivations. The language of their Address breathes a spirit of gentle unaffected piety, which is perfectly in unison with the state of my own feelings; and is always refreshing to my heart. I regard this kind of piety as a great addition to the

amiable properties of our sex ; and, indeed, without it, all other excellence is only superficies without substance ; a shewy exterior without the lovely reality of worth. As far as the influence of a Queen Consort can reach, my own sex shall have no occasion to reproach me with neglecting the culture or the encouragement of that unostentatious piety, which shews itself in humble resignation to the will of the All-wise, in every variety of circumstances ; in a diffusive benevolence to all within the circle of its agency ; and in that comprehensive charity, which, without any narrow or exclusive attachment to sect or party, embraces the good of all ; and makes that good the highest ambition of the mind, and the most constant aspiration of the soul.

In the mean time, the interest excited by the proceedings in the House of Lords continued undiminished, the same enthusiasm in favor of her majesty prevailed every where ; and, notwithstanding the supposed overwhelming testimony which had been adduced to her prejudice, a perfect confidence was entertained of her ultimate triumph.

On Friday, the 1st of September, her majesty received despatches from Milan of the most pleasing description. They related to the progress of her majesty's agents in obtaining evidence to refute that which had been brought forward on the part of the crown, during which, discoveries of an extraordinary nature were made, regarding the means which had been employed by the emissaries of her enemies, in obtaining and bribing witnesses to appear against her majesty. Every engine which money or in-

fluence could discover, was found to be set in motion amongst those individuals who had formerly constituted a part of her majesty's establishment, in order to induce them to come forward and swear to facts which were to be brought forward as proofs of the guilt of her majesty. Bribery and subornation were at their height, and her majesty, the Queen of England, was destined to be crushed beneath a weight of falsehood and of perjury.

Her majesty remained the whole of Sunday the 3d, at Brandenburg-house. The Rev. Mr. Fellowes had the honor of performing divine service before her, at which the entire of the household attended.

The tide of popular feeling in favor of her majesty now rushed forward with accelerated force. The venom and the slander, the filth and the obscenity, which it was hoped by certain lovers of morality, would have checked the mighty current, were dashed aside, leaving the stream to pursue its course unimpeded and unpolluted. Addresses poured in fast to her majesty from the moment she last set her foot on our shores; but now, when the *Majocchis* and the *Demons* were unveiled, when their motives were known, and their characters exposed, those memorials of affection and respect were redoubled. Immediately after the day was ascertained when her majesty would be at leisure to receive the address of the married ladies and the inhabitant householders of

Mary-le-bone, preparations were made to give the best and handsomest effect to the cavalcade in its progress to Brandenburg-house. It was decided that the different equipages should assemble in Welbeck-street, and in its neighbourhood, between ten and eleven o'clock. Several of those gentlemen who took an active part at the public meeting in which the Address was voted, appeared at an earlier hour: amongst these were Sir G. Noel, Mr. P. Moore, Lord W. Fitzgerald, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Whitbread. As ten o'clock approached, a great number of barouches and four, and a few carriages and pairs, took their stations in the order of procession: and at eleven o'clock, the hour appointed for proceeding towards Brandenburg-house, one hundred and thirty-five equipages were arranged in line. At one o'clock, the procession reached Hammer-smith, and was received with a loud and lively peal of the church-bells. The first forty carriages obtained easy admittance at the great gate, opening into the grounds which surround the house; but, as they nearly filled the line of road, a long delay took place before any of the others could be admitted. At about four o'clock, the whole of the ladies and gentlemen who were immediately connected with the presentation of the Address, were set down at her majesty's residence.

At this time the scene was highly picturesque and pleasing. A number of elegantly-dressed

females appeared at the different windows of the house, but their costume was scarcely more tasteful or more elegant than that which was displayed by those who paraded the grounds that are in front of the mansion. On such a scene the heart reposes with pleasure. Every thing appeared to be in unison with the occasion. The day was beautiful—the sun shone brightly—every eye was lighted up with gladness; and the eye, doubtless, spoke the feelings of the heart. The females, many of whom were eminently beautiful, were dressed in a style that would not have disgraced a drawing-room. We speak of the younger females. The matrons (and many of them were present) appeared in a costume suited to their more advanced age. The ladies, almost uniformly, were attired in white, with white ornaments in their hair or on their caps. The gentlemen, who were, with very few exceptions, in full (not court) dress, wore white favors in their breasts and hats. The appearance of the entire procession was in the highest degree respectable. Soon after four o'clock the address of the ladies was presented to her majesty by Mrs. Haydon, of Welbeck-street.

The following was her majesty's answer, and it drew tears from many of the ladies who were present.

I feel a cordial satisfaction in accepting the unfeignedly affectionate Address from the married females resident in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone.

Many of the most estimable characteristics of our sex, borrow no small degree of lustre from adversity. — It is then that these gentle virtues are most conspicuous, by which we are most adorned: and when even loveliness itself is increased by uncomplaining patience and humble resignation.

In us, it is true heroism to be meek in sorrow and not querulous in suffering.

If the spirits of those who are no more with us be at all conscious of what is passing in the scene they have left, I trust that the spirit of my beloved daughter will contemplate with complacency the serenity I have endeavoured to acquire, and the fortitude I have endeavoured to exercise, in trials of which it is difficult to appreciate the severity; and indeed to which few females have ever been exposed.

My departure for the Continent in 1814 was, at that moment, like an exile from all that I held dear. I left a child who was my mind's best hope, and my heart's best stay, expecting hereafter to see her in happier days; but alas! I was to see her no more! When we parted, we parted never to meet again.

I was hardly married before my circumstances became more desolate than those of widowhood, and I seemed to have become a mother only to be tortured by the privation of that intercourse with my child, which was hardly ever denied to any mother but myself. Thus the pre-eminence of my station became only a pre-eminence in misery.

If I have had any enjoyment in the changes and obstructions of my chequered life, it has been principally produced by the habits of beneficence which I have had an opportunity of cultivating. I claim no praise for this, for I found the practice to be agreeable to my nature; and if I had reflected on the subject, my resolution would only have derived additional support from the balance of pleasure, and the calculations of interest. Here I request you to unite with me in admiring that wise constitution of the moral world, which makes the most exquisite satisfaction, and the most permanent happiness to arise out of the addition which we make to the gratification of others, and to the general stock of human felicity.

Sir Gerard Noel then presented the Address from the male inhabitants of Mary-le-bone.

The termination of each answer, which was known by the motions of some gentlemen who were near the window, was marked by the applauses of the crowd without.

Exactly at five o'clock the ceremony ended, and the Queen appeared at the centre window amidst acclamations of pleasure. Her majesty never looked better. She wore a species of tiara turban, suspended from the top of which, and falling on her shoulders, was a large white veil, partially concealing the upper part of her gown, which was of black sarcenet. She bowed repeatedly to the people, and retired with a smile of satisfaction on her countenance.

The road to town, on the return of the procession, was no less crowded than it had been in the morning. The huzzas and ejaculations in favor of the Queen, and the execrations directed against her persecutors were heard, without intermission, from Hammersmith to Hyde-park-corner, as the coaches filled with those who witnessed this exhilarating ceremony returned to town.

At half-past twelve o'clock, the Queen received the Camberwell Address, which was read by a clergyman in full canonicals. The procession bearing this mark of respect consisted of about twenty carriages.

The Address from Kimpton (Hampshire) was also received.

On Thursday the 7th of September, the Attorney-general having finished the examination of the witnesses in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, summed up his evidence to the House. It was his intension to have called more witnesses; but on their arrival at Calais, on being informed of the treatment which their countrymen had met with at Dover, they ran and all turned their backs upon the shores of England, and hastened with all possible speed to their native country, on soil much more fitted for such nuptial scenes than their noble and generous land of Britain. no gallant has

The Solicitor-general proceeded to recapitulate the leading circumstances detailed by the witnesses for the crown, intermixing his statements with comments, tending to show, though no distinct act of adultery was sworn to, the facts proved by the concurrent testimony of several witnesses led directly, in the mind of every reasonable man, to the conclusion that adultery had been committed. With regard to the defence of Majocchi, the learned gentleman observed, that in spite of the much-handled joke of *Non mi Ricordo*, it appeared to him that during the cross-examination of seven hours, extending over a period of three years, and going through a variety of complicated facts, in various instances had that witness been betrayed into inconsistencies. Mademoiselle Demont did not certainly corroborate the statements of Majocchi, but she depended to similar circumstances occurring within the



same period. The learned gentleman maintained, that there was nothing whatever to impeach the testimony of Miss Demont, but her letters; and that the praises of the Princess in those letters might be accounted for by the fact of the witness's knowledge that the letters would fall into the hands of her Royal Highness, and from her great attachment to her sister. Their lordships might see, as men of the world, in what particular view Miss Demont wrote those letters. The Solicitor-general concluded his speech, by declaring his devout wish, that her majesty might be able to prove her pure and unsullied innocence, but still maintaining that the preamble of the bill was proved, unless the proof should be impeached by evidence, clear, distinct, and satisfactory, on the part of her majesty.

We shall not tire the patience of our readers with many comments on the summary of the Attorney-general. We shall merely content ourselves with observing that it was quite suitable to the occasion—miserably wordly and pitiable—dull, question-begging, self-sufficient, and insufficient for every other purpose.

Mr. Brougham was then about to enter upon the Defence of her majesty, but the Lords confined him to the alternative of either doing all at once, or nothing—either of following up his defence with the evidence in her favour immediately, (which he could not do, as the witnesses were not all at hand) or of not saying any thing till he could

commence without stopping. Of the two hardships he preferred the latter.

The learned gentleman apprized the House, that he should be ready to commence his case for the defence in three weeks, and desired an adjournment of the proceedings for that length of time. This application was made in the hope of obviating, as much as possible, the evil consequences to the Queen which might be expected to arise from the case for the prosecution, dwelling upon the public mind for a considerable time without answer or comment; but it was difficult to believe that her majesty could be fully prepared within three weeks for undertaking her defence with the same effect as she might hope for, had a longer time been taken by the counsel; but she was placed in the sad alternative of either prematurely undertaking her defence without sufficient means, or of submitting to the dreadful evil of suffering the public mind to receive an impression injurious to her fame, which a future triumph in the House of Lords might not be able effectually to remove.

At the desire of Mr. Brougham, the House adjourned until Tuesday, the 3d of October.

Whilst these proceedings were going on in Parliament, her majesty made her intended excursion by water to Greenwich, Woolwich, &c.

At an early hour in the morning the new and splendid state barge, built by Searle and Godfrey, of Stangate, was taken up the River and

moored off the grounds of Brandenburg-house. Mr. Searle, dressed in scarlet, with cocked hat, &c. acting as cockswain; the barge decorated with a profusion of union jacks, broad pendants, and streamers, and having a crew of twenty men, all wearing scarlet uniforms, and state caps of black velvet.

At twelve o'clock her majesty embarked under a salute from a number of guns on the Hammer-smith shore, and at the same time the royal standard was hoisted at the bow of the vessel. Her majesty was attended by Mr. Alderman Wood, the Honourable Mr. Keppel Craven, several foreigners of distinction, and two ladies of her suite. She wore a large plain Leghorn bonnet, with a dress of garter blue, and a rich dark scarf.

In consequence of the tide not serving, the Richmond steam-yacht had been engaged to tow the royal barge, and she went down the river in grand style, amidst the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the shouts of the populace assembled on either shore; whilst a number of pleasure boats, filled with well dressed company, surrounded her on all sides. Chairs had been provided for the accommodation of the Queen and her suite, and her majesty remained seated with her ladies on the deck, or "house," of the vessel, throughout the whole trip, the gentlemen standing, and occasionally pointing out to her majesty such objects as were worthy her observation.

As they approached the metropolis, the throng of pleasure-boats continually increased, till the surface of the water was almost covered with them. Immediately opposite the new erections in Cotton-Garden a tremendous shout was raised, mingled with loud cries of "*Non mi ricordo*," &c. the large guns on the opposite shores at Stangate at the same moment firing a noble salute. The bridges, the stairs, and the wharfs, were every where covered with people, who cheered her majesty as she passed.

Immediately below the Southwark bridge the towing line was cast off from the steam-yacht, and the crew of the royal barge taking to their oars, proceeded without her assistance. The scene below London-bridge was very animated, all the vessels in the Pool displaying their colours, many of them saluting with their guns, and the crews of all of them loudly cheering, whilst their shouts were re-echoed by the multitude which every where crowded the shore.

In this state her majesty passed down the river as low as Woolwich, and then, without landing, the vessel was put about and returned to Greenwich, where the state carriage and others were waiting to convey her majesty and suite to Brandenburg-house. The Queen went ashore at the Hospital-stairs, and crossed the grand square to her carriage, amidst the cheers of a vast concourse of people.

On Friday, the 8th, her majesty came to town,

and proceeded to the House of Lords, to hold a conference with her legal advisers. She afterwards returned to Brandenburg-house to receive a number of addresses. Among them was the Whitechapel address, presented by the churchwardens, attended by the parish-officers, &c.; the address from the ward of Aldersgate, presented by Mr. Alderman Cox; the Derby, by Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Hobhouse; the address from the females of Sheffield, with 10,000 signatures, by Lord Duncannon; the address from 300 of the Leicester Militia, by Mr. Alderman Wood; and one from the females of Halifax, also by Mr. Alderman Wood. The address from the male inhabitants was forwarded to Sir Francis Burdett. The Leicester Militia address would have had many more than 300 signatures, had not the greater number of the men been engaged, it is said in harvest-work, in different parts of the county.

On Sunday, the 10th, a great number of persons waited upon her majesty, and had the honour of being introduced. At three o'clock her majesty sat down to dinner with a select company of friends. In the evening she sat upon the lawn. A vast number of most respectable persons came up the river in boats, and lay on their oars opposite to Brandenburg-house, eager to catch even a distant sight of the Queen.

Her majesty was engaged almost the whole of Tuesday and Wednesday receiving addresses; one of the most conspicuous of which was from

the captains, mates, and seamen, of the British merchant service, whose vessels were then lying in the river. The procession was the most interesting, and, in a political point of view, the most important that was witnessed. The procession arrived in the Strand about one o'clock, from the city. It was headed by a gentleman on a white horse, holding in his hand a blue flag, fringed with white, inscribed with "The Seamen's Address." Then followed the seamen, walking four abreast, all decently dressed, and wearing white favours. They amounted to about 5,000, and, with their friends who accompanied them, formed a line that filled the street from Temple-bar to the Adelphi. There were three other similar flags, each carried by a seaman, in the procession. The first was inscribed, "Heaven protect the Innocent,"—the second—"God save the Queen,"—and the third—"Non mi ricordo." Several naval flags were also carried in the procession. In the midst of it was a small cart, with two men seated in it, sustaining a pole, on the top of which was the figure of a sailor, with a roll in one hand and a hat in the other, in the act of cheering. The procession was closed by a considerable number of hackney coaches, full of company, male and female. The windows in the line of the procession were filled with spectators; the ladies waved their handkerchiefs, and the sailors occasionally cheered in return. They conducted themselves in the most orderly manner.

To this address her majesty returned the following answer :

“ A British seaman is another name for downright sincerity and plain-spoken truth. A British seaman always says what he thinks, and is what he seems. A British seaman never deserts his flag, and never abandons his companion in distress. A British seaman is generous to his enemy, but he is never faithless to his friend. His heart is not fickle and inconstant, like the element on which he moves, or the wind which fills the sails of his ship. The word of a British seaman is as sure as his bond. His veracity is incorruptible. In the late examination before the House of Lords, let the evidence of the two British naval officers who were brought forward by my accusers, be compared with the misrepresentations, ambiguities, and equivocating perjuries of the other witnesses, and the honest character of a British sailor will be truly resplendent in the contrast with that mass of infamy. A British sailor is generous to excess, and brave even to a fault. There is no extremity of distress in which he will not share his last shilling with his friend, and often even with his foe ; nor are there any circumstances in which he will not prefer death to disgrace ; and every evil under the sun to cowardice. When I had long been convinced that these are the ordinary characteristics of British seamen, it may be easily conceived that I was in the highest degree gratified by an address so loyal and so warm-hearted. from such a respectable assemblage of British seamen in the county of Middlesex. I am not surprised that British seamen, who are as compassionate as they are brave, should feel for my sufferings, and should be indignant at my wrongs. The wrongs and sufferings of a woman, and that woman a Queen, must make a deep impression on their generous hearts. It is only the base and the cowardly that can tamely acquiesce in injustice and inhumanity ; and I am fully convinced, that insulted greatness or depressed rank can no where find a surer refuge or more steady protection than in the sailors and soldiers of this country. As the Queen-Consort of England, my sphere

of usefulness is small, and my means of benefitting the community very circumscribed; but as far as my power or my influence extends, all classes will ever find in me a sincere friend to their liberties and a zealous advocate for their rights.

Some idea of the enthusiastic spirit which at this time pervaded the country in the cause of her majesty may be formed, by the numerous addresses which at this time flocked from all quarters of the kingdom, and the presentation of which absorbed a great portion of her majesty's time. The following is a list of those which had been presented up to the month of September, and even at a time when, according to the testimony of the Italian witnesses, her majesty had been guilty of the most depraved and licentious conduct.

SIGNED.	SIGNED.
Aldersgate.	Carlisle.
Alston . . . . . 200	Castle Donnington . . . 220
Aylesbury	Chippenham.
Barnard castle . . . 600	Clerkenwell . . . . . 2,400
Bath, (Ladies)	Cripplegate Without.
Bath	Dalkeith, (Deacon and
Bedford . . . . . Mayor.	Members of Hammer
Berwick upon Tweed Mayor.	Men Society) . . Deacon.
Bethnal Green . . . 700	Derby . . . . . 4,200
Bolton . . . . . 6,200	Dover.
Boston . . . . . Chairman.	Exeter, (Ladies) . . . 9,000
Bridport.	Exeter . . . . . 11,000
Bristol, (Ladies) . . 11,050	Greenwich Churchwardens
British Seamen of Mid-	and Vestry Clerk,
dlesex . . . . . 5,000	Gloicester, City . . . 1,700
Camberwell	Gospel Church, Portsea 1,000
Canterbury . . . . . Chairman.	Haddington.



Halifax, (Ladies)	3,700	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	3,800
Halifax	3,600	Northampton, (Tradesmen	
Hammersmith.		and Artificers of)	1,600
Hereford, (young Men).		North Shields	1,250
Hexam	700	Norwich	Alderman.
High Wycombe	400	Nottingham, (Ladies)	7,000
Elcheſter	High Bailiff.	Nottingham	7,100
Kimpton and Grateley	90	Preston, (Borough of)	2,300
Leeds, (Ladies)	Chairman.	Poole	800
Leeds	Chairman.	Reading	2,000
Leiceſter Militia, (Privates)		Rochester	Chairman.
	800	Ross.	
Lewes	Constables.	Sandwich	400
Litchfield.		Shaftsbury.	
Liverpool	30,000	Sheffield, (Ladies)	11,000
London, (Married Ladies)		Sheffield	4,600
	8,500	St. Leonard's, Shoreditch	
London, (Mechanics of)		Churchwardens.	
	29,500	St. Sidwell.	
Lord Mayor and Common		St. Stephen-by-Lanuceſton	
Council	Lord Mayor.		400
Lord Mayor, Aldermen,		Stockport	3,600
and Livery	Lord Mayor.	Sunderland.	
Ludlow	660	Wakefield	1,440
Mary-le-bone, (Married		Westminster	High Bailiff.
Ladies)	8,700	Whitechapel, (Parish)	4,000
Mary-le-bone	7,500	Worceſter.	
Morpeth	264	York	Mayor.
Newbury	Mayor.		

Two meſſengers arrived at Brandenburg-houſe from Italy on Friday morning, the 14th, with deſpatches for her majeſty. The object of theſe perſons' journey to this country was ſolely to repreſent the difficulties which were felt by her

majesty's advocate, Mr. Henry, in sending forward his witnesses, and to request an immediate remittance of money. Several of the witnesses who had arrived at Milan, were detained there some days for the want of passports, and, in fact, every obstacle appeared to be thrown in their way. In consequence of this, a messenger was despatched to Vienna, who took a letter to Lord Stewart on the subject, and returned on Monday evening with an answer, enclosing Lord Castlereagh's letter to Lord Stewart, which it appeared his lordship had laid before Prince Metternich, who replied, that the Austrian government required a letter from her majesty or from Mr. Brougham for each witness—a thing, of course, impossible, unless her majesty or her attorney-general, were present there. On a particular day, Mr. Henry applied to get a passport for a Venetian witness; he was told that he must be sent to Venice to get his passport, and it was not until after remonstrating strongly against such abominable shuffling, and a declaration that Mr. Henry would advise her majesty not to proceed any further in her defence under such circumstances, that he obtained the passport.

From the 14th to the 20th, her majesty remained almost in a state of seclusion. She did not visit London, nor were any addresses presented to her. She did not, however, pass her time unprofitably; she devoted several hours each day to the review of the case which had

## **STATEMENT OF HER MAJESTY**

Her majesty, after her long absence, and to the great surprise of such suggestions as might be made by her advisers in her defence. Her majesty stated to have been much shocked at the charges detailed in the evidence, especially as it was given by individuals who were indebted to her for several acts of the kindest and most generous. She did not mean to say, that she was fully prepared for a trial that would surprise her, but she could not imagine that the ingenuity of the most devoted minds could have carried them to the point to which some of the witnesses carried their depositions. Her majesty's confidence, however, as to the perfect establishment of her innocence in the minds of the great body of her subjects remained unabated, and she looked forward with cheerfulness to the moment when the proceedings in the House of Lords were to be resumed.

Numerous witnesses in favour of her majesty, among whom were the Marquis and Marchioness of Sangreth, were now flocking into the kingdom, although it was feared that some of the persons on whose attendance her majesty had calculated, would, from the difficulties thrown in their way on the Continent, be unable to reach this country.

Her majesty having determined to present her portrait to the corporation of the city of London, Alderman Waithman, on Friday, the 23rd, pre-

sented the following letter to the court of common council:

*To the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and  
Common Councilmen of the City of London, in Common  
Council assembled,*

I am commanded by her majesty the Queen, to request that the corporation of London will accept her majesty's portrait, as a testimony of her majesty's gratitude to the citizens of London, and of her attachment to the corporation of the first city in the world, for the sincere and zealous loyalty which they have ever manifested in the cause of the Queen.

Sept. 20

M. Wood.

The worthy alderman, after some observations on the subject of this communication, moved,—"That her majesty's most generous offer of her portrait be gratefully acknowledged; and that the thanks of this court be presented to her majesty, for this mark of her condescension and regard for the corporation and citizens of the city of London."

This motion was finally agreed to, and it was ordered that the Lord Mayor should make the communication to her majesty.

The consequences of her majesty's seclusion for a short time, was to multiply the addresses which remained to be presented; and Monday the 29th being the day appointed by her to receive those from various public meetings, the streets displayed in the morning a very bustling appearance. The deputations, attended by vast crowds, proceeded towards Brandenburg-house, from their

respective committee-rooms. About twelve o'clock the deputation from the ward of Farringdon passed through the Strand. It was led by the beadles of the parish on horseback, and consisted of about sixty open landaus, each drawn by four horses. This was soon followed by a still more magnificent and numerous procession of the inhabitants of Spitalfields. This party was preceded by the gentlemen composing the deputation on horseback, two, and two, carrying white staves; two persons also on horseback supported a handsome flag, and then succeeded a long line of landaus, each carrying, as in the former procession, six gentlemen wearing white favours. The postilions in this procession were all distinguished by wearing yellow silk jackets. A procession from the parish of Shadwell exhibited a brilliant display of ladies, elegantly dressed, wearing magnificent plumes of feathers. A little after twelve o'clock six different processions formed in order at Hyde-park-corner, and composed at short intervals a continuous line of carriages (the major part drawn by four horses to each) extending over a distance of two miles. At a very early hour all the avenues to Brandenburg-house were besieged by crowds of foot-passengers, hoping for admission into the grounds. Major Cartwright and Mr. Wooller were the first arrivals, with an address from a considerable number of persons in Manchester and Leeds. The Queen, on entering the great saloon, or hall of audience, soon after, con-

versed for several minutes with the worthy Major. The procession of the ward of Farringdon, headed by Mr. Waithman in his alderman's robes, then arrived. Mr. Waithman was accompanied by several members of the Common Council of London, and a very considerable number of his constituents. He delivered the address with much animation and energy. The Queen's reply was read by Mr. Alderman Wood. All who joined in the procession had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. The third address was from the inhabitants of Gloucester. The fourth and fifth were from the wards of Cripplegate and Aldgate; and the sixth, from the weavers of Spitalfields. Her majesty, who did not appear to be in perfect health, returned her respective answers through Mr. Alderman Wood. The last and most splendid part of the exhibition consisted of a line of sixty or seventy barouches and four, bearing the addresses of the parishes of Paddington and St. Pancras, and headed by Sir Gerard Noel and Mr. Peter Moore. The cavalcade was decorated by the presence of many women. Her majesty conversed familiarly with several of them, and it was near six o'clock before the entire ceremony was brought to a conclusion.

A very numerous meeting of the Journeymen Printers of the metropolis took place on the same night at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to consider the propriety of presenting an address to

the Queen, congratulating her majesty on her return to this country, and condoling with her under the persecutions to which she was exposed. The mover of the address urged, in a neat speech, that a body of men who were so intimately connected with that powerful engine to which her majesty had candidly owned she was principally indebted for her protection from the malice of her enemies—the British Press—were specially called upon to shew, that in a case like this, they were not merely instrumental to an object in which they did not hand and heart concur. The address was carried by acclamation. It was then resolved, that the address should be printed on satin, and carried up by a deputation, consisting of as many of the trade as chose to join in the procession. A deputation was then appointed to wait on her majesty, to know when she would be pleased to receive the address, and the meeting, which was conducted throughout with great order and propriety, broke up.

The House of Lords met, pursuant to the adjournment, at ten o'clock, on the 3d of October, and the usual forms being gone through, the first question which occupied the attention of their lordships was the alleged obstructions to the witnesses on the behalf of her majesty. Lord Liverpool, with his accustomed candour, entered into an explanation of the whole affair, and eventually succeeded in convincing the House that no

obstruction had been given to her majesty's witnesses, and that the powers of the Alien Bill would not be applied to those individuals.

Mr. Brougham then commenced his speech, for which we must refer our readers to the Trial itself, and at one o'clock on Thursday the 5th, the statement of counsel on the part of the Queen was concluded.

Some conversation next arose respecting the letters read in the House on a preceding day; they were verified at the bar by Mr. Marietti, junior, to whom they had been sent. Some conversation next arose upon statements made by the Queen's counsel, that influence had been used by individuals abroad, to prevent witnesses in defence from coming over; and also upon their statement, that General Pino and the chamberlain of the Grand Duke of Baden, Baron Ende, had refused to attend. The latter was restrained solely by the command of his government. The Earl of Liverpool expressed his readiness to send off a messenger in two hours, in order to remove any difficulties of this kind. Several witnesses were then examined, and their evidence will be found important\*.

Monday the 9th was a great day for addressees to the Queen. There were addresses from the following places and public bodies:—Shipwrights; Metropolitan; Bristol, Male and Female; Mon-

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\* See the authorised edition of the *Trial of Queen Caroline*, published by T. Kelly.



mouth; St. Katharine's, Tower; St. James's, Westminster; Jedburgh; Abergavenny; Newcastle-under-Line; Calne, Wilts; Chipping, Sodbury.

The Shipwrights and Caulkers carried up to Brandenburg-house specimens of the progress of their art, from Noah's ark up to a first rate English ship of war. The procession with the address from the Ladies and other Inhabitants of the Metropolis was however the most splendid yet seen. It mustered early in Great Queen-street and Lincoln's-Inn-fields, forming a line of 106 carriages, and headed by Mr. Hobhouse, Sir G. Noel, Mr. P. Moore, and Mr. Hume, proceeded into the Strand, and thence through Piccadilly, where it was joined by the procession from St. James's, composed of thirty-one post-coaches, and headed by Sir R. Wilson. The Metropolitan address was borne in an elegant landau, drawn by six grey horses; and Mr. Hobhouse stated to the Queen, that according to the information of the best informed persons, the signatures amounted to more than 100,000. Her majesty was engaged most of the day in receiving deputations with addresses, the ladies and gentlemen composing which, had the honour of kissing her hand. The scene on the western road was of the most lively description: the metropolis appeared to have almost emptied itself to witness the processions. Her majesty returned very spirited answers to the addresses.

On Tuesday, the lightermen and watermen went up the river Thames with their Address to the Queen, and the crowds which collected to witness their progress were immense. All the streets which led to the water-side were in a state of bustle in the morning, and every bridge, wharf, or other station open to the public, whence a view of the procession could be obtained, was crowded. The deputation to convey the Address started from Southwark-Bridge at ten o'clock in a very handsome barge, accompanied by three steam vessels, and an immense number of boats. The scene was most splendid. There could not be fewer than from five to six thousand boats present; the men in each were, for the most part, clothed in blue or white jackets, with blue sashes and white favors, and each boat bore a flag. Bands of music were heard on various parts of the river, and from many places along the shores, and the guns from the steam boats were answered by salutes from the land. The deputation were very graciously received, and her majesty returned an answer to the Address, from which we extract the following passage :—

Justice is a simple thing, and requires no depth of learning to be understood. Its common rules and its sacred principles may be as clearly comprehended by shipwrights and artisans as by the mitred bishop or the ermined judge. Who does not know it to be a principle of justice that an accused person should have a fair trial, and that it is hardly consistent with this

reality of a fair trial that the same persons should unite the incongruous offices of accuser, judge, and jury—should lay the charge, make the law, declare the offence, and punish the offender? The plainest understanding may readily comprehend that this is not justice, but iniquity.

Addresses were also presented the same day from St. Pancras, Edmonton, St. Saviour's, St. George's in the East, and St. Pancras, Chichester. A great portion of the Pancras committee, as well as of the ladies attached to its members, wore a beautiful medal of the Queen, suspended by a purple riband from the shoulders.

Whilst these sincere and ardent demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to the cause of the Queen were exhibited through the country, the ministers astounded and confounded at the evidence which had been brought forward in favor of her majesty, began seriously to reflect on the relinquishment of the Bill, and Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and other ministers, went to the King, at his cottage in Windsor Park, whither they were accompanied by several distinguished peers of great influence and borough patronage, to represent to his majesty the impression which the evidence adduced in opposition to the Bill of Pains and Penalties had made on their minds, so as to make it impossible for them to support it through the House. The noblemen had an audience of his majesty, to state their opinion that it ought to be withdrawn. It is not known with what complacency this decla-

ration was received; but it was understood that ministers were disposed to give up the Bill, if the evidence of Lieutenant Flynn should overthrow the testimony of the master and mate of the polacca; that of Majocchi and Demont being considered by them as totally discredited. The contradictions of Lieutenant Flynn, however, induced them to persevere.

Wednesday the 11th, being the day appointed by the Queen for the reception of addresses, the road from Hyde-park-corner to Hammersmith was at an early hour thronged by vast bodies of persons. The following were the addresses presented:—from Ely-place Liberty, Holborn, Croydon, Wandsworth, S. Ann's (Limehouse), Farringdon within, Portsoken Ward, Horsleydown, Christ-church (Surrey), Winchester, Oxford, St. Ives, Hereford, Stockton-on-Tees, Cardiff, Leicester, North Petherton, Taunton, Truro, Sedgely, Colebrook, Milford, Surrey, Kendal, Ambleside, Kirby Lonsdale, Milnthrop, the Letter-press Printers, Evesham, Manchester, Hinckley, Leeds, Glasgow, United Guildries of Perth, Banff, St. John's (Southwark), and Coventry, and the Benefit Societies of London.

The first address which arrived at Brandenburg-house was that from the inhabitants of the parish of St. Abbot's, Kensington. The procession consisted of forty-two carriages, chiefly filled with ladies of the first respectability. They were elegantly dressed in white, and were

her majesty's medals suspended from their necklaces. The Queen was in excellent health, and received the deputation in her usual gracious and condescending manner. Her majesty wore a dress of black silk and spangled velvet, trimmed with roses, under a dress of crape.

Mr. Hume then presented the addresses from Glasgow (signed by 37,000 persons), from the United Guildries of Perth, and from Banff. Major Cartwright, who appeared in the full regimental uniform of the Nottingham Militia, presented the address from the ladies of Manchester, and from the inhabitants of Leeds and Hinckley, in Leicestershire. At half-past two o'clock the deputation from the Ward of Portsoken arrived. The gentlemen who composed it filled thirty-five coaches and four; the postilions were in new pink dresses with white hats and cockades. In the first carriage was Sir James Shaw, Bart., the Alderman of the Ward.

At three o'clock the procession of the several Benefit Societies of the metropolis arrived. There were more than four thousand persons in this procession. They appeared to be chiefly artisans and mechanics, and their whole appearance and demeanor did them the highest credit. This procession was accompanied by an immense concourse of people. At the head of each society, the stewards and flags were arranged. This procession took up its position on the lawn, and received her majesty, who appeared on the bal-

cony, with the loudest acclamations. Many of the members wore the medallie portrait of her majesty.

The next procession was that of St. Ann's Limehouse, consisting of ladies and gentleman, wearing white favors, in open landaus and four; the postilions dressed in crimson jackets. The writer of the Address, Mr. Fitch, the able master of the Stepney Academy, called the British Lyceum, with many other of the worthy Limehouse addressers, wore the large medal of her majesty, as did many of the Christ-church addressers.

The gentlemen deputed from Coventry next appeared, to present her majesty with some pieces of an elegant new manufactured riband; the colour, Queen's purple, on scarlet ground, combining in its texture the fabrics of sarcenet, and damask satin, on which the crown appeared beautifully wrought, and the initials of C. R. Her majesty accepted the present, and returned a most gracious answer.

It was nearly dark when the Letter-press Printers of the metropolis arrived. The procession consisted of a very numerous body of respectable persons of that trade in this great metropolis.

The deputation appointed to carry up this Address occupied twenty-three carriages. It was preceded by a person on horseback, bearing a white satin banner, on which was printed in a

beautiful large type, "Printers' Address." Another white banner was displayed from one of the carriages, inscribed "Liberty of the Press."

The address itself was printed on beautiful white satin, edged with white silk fringe, and purple satin back, mounted on an ivory roller, with appropriate ornaments.

The typographical execution was considered superior to any thing ever yet seen. It represented a triumphal arch, supported by pillars, and mounted on a pedestal. The key-stone a crown, sceptre, and cushion. On the tops of the pillars, "Lords," "Commons." At the bases, "Religion," "Law." On the pedestal, right-hand side, "Truth;" left-hand side, "Justice." In the centre, a finely executed representation of a printing-press. Within the arch was placed the address. The whole surrounded by a handsome border.

The other addresses were presented to her majesty by persons connected with the places, or bodies from which they proceeded. The Queen returned answers to all. Her majesty bore the fatigue of standing so long with great composure, and repeatedly conversed, throughout the day, with Lady Anne Hamilton and the Honourable Mrs. Damer, upon the gratifying sight which the grounds around the house presented, thronged as they were with so large a portion of the population of the metropolis. At no period during the day was there a smaller

number than 10,000 persons within the avenue of Brandenburg-house; they repeatedly hailed their Queen with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of their attachment, which her majesty as often acknowledged in the most affable manner.

It was, however, not only amongst the corporate bodies of the kingdom, nor amongst the industrious classes of the community, that the spirit of resentment shewed itself at the unjust persecution to which her majesty was subjected, but the same spirit manifested itself at all the public places, and particularly the theatres, where every sentence that could be found anyways applicable to the situation of her majesty, was eagerly seized upon by the audience, and they testified their joy or their indignation, according as the import of the sentence bore upon the case of her majesty. Thus, when the tragedy of *Cymbeline* was performed at Covent-garden, the application of some of the sentences produced the most violent expressions of applause.

In the fourth scene of the second act, *Iachimo* tries to convince *Posthumus* of *Imogen's* infidelity, by producing one of her bracelets. The husband is staggered, but his friend *Pisano* thus re-assures him :

Have patience, Sir ;  
It may be probable she lost it ; or  
Who knows if one of her women, being corrupted,  
Hath not stolen it from her ?

The most vehement applause followed this suggestion, and lasted for two or three minutes,



In the next act the following passage was received with tumultuous and repeated shouts :

Oh, master ! what a strange infection  
Has fall'n into thy ear ;—What false Italian,  
As poisonous tongued as handed, hath prevailed  
On thy too-ready hearing ? Disloyal ! No :  
She's punished for her truth.

But the climax of sympathetic exultation was reserved for the last act, when the lying Italian thus records his penitence and the lady's wrongs :

The heaviness of guilt within my bosom  
Takes off my manhood : I have belied a lady,  
The princess of this country.

On the 25th of October, an immense number of the working classes of the metropolis and its vicinity paid their tribute of respect and sympathy to the Queen. The streets, therefore, and even the whole line of road to Brandenburg-house, were, so early as ten o'clock, extremely crowded. The first procession was that of the Carpenters and Joiners, who commenced their march in regular order, from Lincoln's-inn-fields, at eleven o'clock, walking four abreast, with music. The whole body must have exceeded 6,000 persons, each wearing a white cockade. The next procession was that of the Glass-blowers, which excited attention by the beauty and singularity of their devices, formed of their own manufacture, in cut and blown glass, magnificently ornamented with rich and varied colours.

A third procession, consisting of about forty open carriages, each drawn by four horses, bore the Address of the parish of St. John. Her majesty was occupied till a late hour at Brandenburg-house in receiving the addresses. There were no less than thirty deputations.

On the same day, the following official announcement was made by the vice-chamberlains of her majesty:

Mr. K. Craven and Sir Wm. Gell, vice-chamberlains to the Queen, are commanded to announce, that, in consequence of the lateness of the season, and the probable approach of wet weather, her majesty wishes to decline receiving any future addresses in person after Monday next, the 30th instant. It is nevertheless to be understood, that her majesty by no means intends to exclude the presentation of such addresses as may be at this moment in preparation, and which, if not ready by Monday, her Majesty will receive and answer without the ceremony of a formal deputation.

From the moment of the landing of her majesty in this country, the public curiosity was greatly excited, to know in what manner her son-in-law, Prince Leopold, would conduct himself towards the unfortunate mother of his deceased wife. Whatever his private feelings might have been upon the subject, it was generally considered, that any visit to her majesty on the part of Prince Leopold would be regarded, in a certain quarter, as a direct insult to himself; and thus the difficulty of the part which his Royal Highness had to perform was considerably increased. It was, however, not until Thursday, the 26th of October,

that his royal highness appears to have made up his mind on the subject, when, on hearing that her majesty had been taken suddenly ill, he paid a visit to Brandenburg-house, but did not alight from his carriage. Colonel Addenbroke was deputed to make the necessary inquiries of Lady Hamilton, accompanied at the same time with a request to know when it would be agreeable to her majesty for him to renew his visit.

Her majesty fixed the following day, and Prince Leopold accordingly kept the appointment. It would be profane to pry further, or to speak more of so affecting an interview—both had much to say of one who was gone, and who, had she been there to bless them with her presence, might have appeared as an angel of conciliation tendering the branch of peace to her unhappy parents, and thereby closing for ever those differences which had such a distracting influence upon the prosperity and tranquillity of the country. But their tears could not recall her sainted spirit, and the childless mother and the lonely widower could only tell each other how much, when living, they had loved her.

On Saturday, the 28th, Mr. Sheriff Waithman was honoured by the Queen with an interview, at Brandenburg-house. He expressed to her majesty, that it was the anxious wish of the lord-mayor elect and the sheriffs, that her majesty would condescend to honour the city of London with her presence at the approaching festival, in

the Guildhall, on lord mayor's day; and that the lord-mayor elect and the sheriffs would wait upon her majesty, in state, with an invitation in due form, at any time she might please to appoint, or would feel themselves highly honoured to receive her majesty's commands upon the subject.

Her majesty was graciously pleased to express herself most grateful for this mark of their attention; but as she was not provided with a proper establishment, she could not attend on the occasion in the state suitable to her rank, and was therefore prevented from acceding to their wishes at present.

The 30th being the last day appointed by her majesty for receiving addresses, Mr. Hume attended and presented the following from

Margate,  
Islington,  
Coopers,  
Youths of the Metropolis,  
Leather-dressers,  
Brass-founders,  
Wokingham,  
Silver Trade,  
Paperhangers,  
Bricklayers,  
West and East Coker,  
Monmouth,  
New Mills,

Weavers of Newberry,  
Ditchling, Sussex,  
Lawyers' Clerks,  
Odd Fellows,  
Sidmouth,  
Arundel,  
Pontypool,  
Chichester,  
Wigton,  
Cabinet-makers,  
Lymington,  
Maidstone.

Of the above addresses, the united deputations from the Brass-founders and Brasiers deserves

the most honourable mention. This was an almost interminable procession on foot, almost every individual bearing some device or other of beautiful and costly workmanship, emblematic either of their trade or the occasion upon which they were thus drawn together. It is true, some of these emblems were a little homely and irrelevant, and very unpicturesque; such, for instance, as coal-scuttles, candlesticks, and pestles and mortars; but there was one equally homely article, the purpose of which seemed to be universally applied, and it was hailed every time with laughing applause: this was an enormous *extinguisher*. There was also a multitude of flags, banners, and musicians, with this party; but the chief and distinguishing feature of the procession was, three men in complete armour, two of brass and one of steel, mounted on large black horses, and each knight attended by four esquires (we humbly presume), with brazen helmets and staves, on foot. The knights, however, were evidently overladen with their harness, and it was with infinite difficulty they could be dismounted on their arrival at a Brandenburg-house. Dismounted they were at length, and they marched at the head of the deputation into the hall of audience, where the principal knight advanced in front of the rest, bearing in his hand a large brazen *baton*, headed with the crown. Having arrived, "with stately step and slow," immediately in front of the chair of state he knelt and laid his *baton* at

the feet of her majesty, on the steps of the platform. This *baton* was explained by his attendants to contain the address; and whilst some of them placed it in the hands of her majesty's chamberlains, others assisted the knight to regain his perpendicular, and then her majesty, having presented him with her written reply, he moved off very awfully. His train then passed individually by her majesty, and the pageant ended.

On Thursday the 2d of November, the debate commenced on the Bill of Pains and Penalties; and as our limits will not allow us to do justice to those unparalleled specimens of oratory which distinguished this important subject, we cannot adopt a better course than to refer the reader to the speeches, contained at length in the History of the Trial.

At twelve o'clock on the 4th, it was announced to the officers of the house that the Queen intended to come to the House of Lords that day. Shortly before one o'clock, her majesty arrived in her state carriage, attended by Lady Anne Hamilton; there was no other carriage, nor were there any gentlemen in attendance. The military presented arms, and the music played the royal salute. She entered the house by the small entrance under the piazza. Sir T. Tyrwhitt handed her majesty from the carriage, and conducted her into the room usually allotted to the Queen. She was there attended by Lady Anne

Hamilton, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Vizard, and Mr. Wilde. She retired at half-past three.

The debate on the bill was continued until the 6th, when the house divided a little after three o'clock, when there appeared for the second reading

	123
Against it	95
Majority	28

On the meeting of the house on the following day Lord Dacre said, that her majesty the Queen had been pleased that morning to place in his hands a protest; though he (Lord Dacre) had not taken any part in the debates on this subject. The fact was, his objections to Bills of Pains and Penalties for alleged moral turpitude long since past were of a nature so fixed and permanent, that no circumstances which could transpire in evidence would induce him to accede to such measures. The noble lord concluded by presenting the following Protest.

**CAROLINE REGINA.**

*To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

The Queen has learnt the decision of the Lords upon the bill now before them. In the face of parliament, of her family, and of her country, she solemnly protests against it.

Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors have presumed to sit in judgment on the question between the Queen and themselves. Peers have given their voices against her who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and absented themselves during her defence.

Others have come to the discussion, from the Secret Committee, with minds blinded by a mass of slander, which her enemies have not dared to bring forward in the light.

The Queen does not avail herself of her rights to appear before the Committee, for to her the details of the measures must be a matter of indifference; and unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the Bill before the other branch of the legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years.

She now most deliberately, and before God asserts, that she is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and she awaits with unabated confidence the final result of this unparalleled investigation.

CAROLINE REGINA.

The Lord Chancellor said the rule in these cases was, that the accused might be personally heard after the second reading; and he did not see any objection to receiving a written address in lieu of a verbal one, but a protest he thought decidedly irregular.

Lord Dacre had no authority to present the protest as an address.

The Lord Chancellor apprehended, that it could not be endured that any body should be allowed at the bar to comment on the judgment of the House or on the conduct of particular Peers. He thought the paper could be received as an address.

Lord Lauderdale expressed great indignation at the attack made in the protest upon the Secret Committee, which he contended was written for the purpose of falsely vilifying those noble Lords



who composed it, though it was impossible for any person to know that all the charges submitted to the Secret Committee were not brought publicly forward. For his part, he felt a firm conviction of her majesty's guilt.

The Duke of Newcastle declared, that though casually prevented from attending during the defence, he had intensely studied the evidence; and no slander should compel him to surrender his right of voting.

Lords Sheffield and Somers, who had been absent on some occasions, spoke to the same effect.

The Earl of Carnarvon thought the declarations of the noble Lords were calculated to trample on the vital principles of justice. He always considered it a vital principle of justice, that no accused person should be condemned except on oral testimony.

The Lord Chancellor thought the House might save its dignity if it received the paper, and tacked to it the following resolution:—That this House, notwithstanding the exceptionable matter in some parts of the paper, now presented, does nevertheless, under all the circumstances of the case, consent to receive the same as the representation of what her majesty has further to state to the House in the present stage of these proceedings.

The Earl of Lauderdale moved as an amendment, that the word "justly" should be intro-

duced in the resolution before the word "exceptionable."

Earl Grey observed, that those Lords who had voted without hearing the whole evidence had certainly a right to do so; they had only to answer to God and their consciences for the course they had thought proper to take. It did appear to him a little extraordinary, when that House had declared its opinion upon a question of this nature, that it was improper for any peer to vote by proxy—that peers should be found acting contrary to that principle themselves—by appearing as their own proxies. With respect to the exception taken to all the votes which stood in the situation of her majesty's accusers, this he thought most proper. So with regard to the votes of the members of the Secret Committee. He therefore did not object to the word "justly." The amendment was carried.

The house then went into a committee on the Bill; and on the divorce clause, being read, it was most strongly opposed, particularly by some of the spiritual peers, as they deemed marriage a sacred ordinance of religion. Some of the Bishops, however, only made the perplexity worse by the diversity of their opinion. Their consciences, therefore, wanting a leader, were thrown back upon themselves, and the threatening aspect of the texts remained. Some of the peers on the manly and truly Christian side of the question took advantage of the doubt. The ministers, on

affecting to part from the courtiers, and siding with the other side against the divorce clause, thought to get rid of that stumbling block, and go on smoothly with the rest; but ministers were most completely outwitted, for the Lords in question literally astonished them, by taking part with the men they had pretended to desert, by which grand parliamentary manoeuvre there was a majority for retaining the divorce clause, and the ministers found themselves in the unusual predicament of figuring in a minority; they looked at each other with astonishment, and they appeared like a pack of school-boys entrapped in the robbery of an orchard.

The third reading of the bill arrived, and the ministers just saved their reputation for majorities by nine men; but this was so obviously insufficient for public purposes, to say nothing of their own promises in bringing the measure forward, that the bill, upon their own proposition, was immediately thrown out. The abortive bantling would not live. It had been overlaid—it had been clipped and cut—it had been circumcised by Italian doctors—it had been swaddled and papped, and swathed and unswathed—in fine, it was kept up by stimulants of various kinds—but all would not do, it died at last in the christening; it was sick from the first, and nine men held it tenderly at the font in vain. It gave a last gasp and expired.

On the day in which the bill was thrown out,

her majesty came to the House of Lords at a quarter before twelve o'clock. She remained in her private apartment until the proceedings were concluded. Her majesty received the news of the majority for the Bill with great fortitude, and signed the petition drawn up by her counsel with a smiling air, saying, as she wrote, the words *Carolina Regina*, "There, *Regina* still, in spite of them." In a few minutes, her counsel rushed into the room, with the glad tidings that the Bill was rejected. Her majesty spoke not a word: she looked fixed and insensible as a statue. Mr. Brougham suggested the propriety of her majesty proceeding immediately to her carriage: her attendants handed her down stairs, her majesty still remaining perfectly silent; and it was not till after she had been some minutes in her carriage that a flood of tears coming to her relief, she was able to resume her speech, and her wonted serenity and firmness. The cheers and exultation of the people surpassed conception. Her majesty proceeded to Brandenburg-house.

When the Earl of Liverpool on Friday afternoon had signified his intention to withdraw the Bill, the intelligence was immediately communicated to the strangers in the lobby, who could not be restrained from testifying their joy by the loudest shouts. The strangers immediately rushed out into Old Palace-yard, where her majesty was just at that moment stepping into her carriage. The joy manifested by the people who

had assembled to witness her majesty's departure when the fate of the Bill was made known, is indescribable. The effect of the shouts and congratulations of the people was heightened by the royal salute from the drums of the soldiers on duty. The brave fellows shewed by their countenances that they were not behind the rest of their countrymen in exultation, and when they piled their arms after the Queen's carriage had passed, they added their shouts to those of the multitude.

The news of the rejection of the Bill spread to every corner of the metropolis, and in all the streets were to be seen multitudes of persons congratulating each other on the event.

At the approach of dusk, many of the inhabitants of the west end of the town, adorned their windows with festoons, candles, lamps, &c. The illumination in Piccadilly, and in the streets and squares south of that thoroughfare, did not become general until nine o'clock. Bond-street was brilliant early in the evening, and the mansions of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord George Cavendish, Mr. Coutts, and many other persons of fortune and situation, bore ample testimony of the principles of their proprietors; nor were the great hotels backward in the expression of their opinions. Apsley-house was "*all a-mort*," and Carlton Palace was enveloped in gloom. In Hamilton-place there were, less lamps than usual: but the Duke of Gloucester and the

Princess Sophia, by the splendour of their flambeaux, made visible the darkness of the few disloyal who dwelt near them.

The whole of the northern side of Oxford-street and Cavendish-square, and particularly Welbeck-street, Wigmore-street, Wimpole-street, and Harley-street, were more brilliantly than generally illuminated. The noble residence of Earl Grey, in Portman-square, and several other beautiful mansions in its vicinity, were superbly decorated with every species of lights. Hyde-street, Berkeley-street, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, and Lower Brook-street, all displayed the same manifestations of an affectionate regard for her majesty. In Hanover-square the lights were numerous, and nearly universal in Swallow and Titchfield-streets, a part of Waterloo-street, the Hay-market, and Cockspur-street. The principal streets were exceedingly thronged by multitudes, whose deportment was particularly quiet and becoming.

Early in the evening, the Club-houses in St. James's-street, many of the houses in St. James's-square, Pall-mall, and Charing-cross, were illuminated. Brookes's, in St. James's-street, attracted particular notice. The balcony was tastefully decorated with a royal crown, with the letters Q. C., the initials of Queen Caroline. White's was illuminated profusely with torches—Boodle's very sparingly; the Guard's Mess-club very splendidly. In Pall-mall, though nearly all the

houses were lighted up about eight o'clock, nothing particular was observable. Groups of people, at different periods of the evening, collected in Waterloo-place, anxious to learn if "the large house with pillars before it" partook in the general joy. In St. James's-square the houses of the nobility and gentry were generally illuminated with more or less brilliancy. The houses of Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Northumberland were the only mansions involved in gloom. The house of Lord Castlereagh was protected by the military. Greenwood's (the army agent) people, at Charing-cross, refused at first to illuminate, and in consequence of that resistance he had his windows smashed.

The illumination in Holborn was very general. Bedford-street was particularly resplendent, as was also Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, Charlotte-street, Tavistock-street, Percy-street, and Tottenham-court-road. In one of the houses were the initials of the Queen's name, C. R. displayed in variegated lamps and festoons of laurel, in the interstices of which several placards of "*Non mi Ricordo*" were placed. Cranbourne-street was one blaze of light: on one of the houses a transparency was exhibited, which bore the following inscription:—"May the contrivers, abettors, and supporters of the infamous conspiracy against her majesty, meet with that doom which their malignant hearts would have assigned to her." Every house, without exception, in

Leicester-square, bore testimony of the satisfaction afforded to the metropolis. In the Strand, the generality of the householders seemed to vie with each other as to who should display their attachment to her majesty in the most brilliant manner. The Post and Courier newspaper offices were refractory, and had some of their windows broken. The consequence of which was, that the military were sent for; but, though the Riot Act was read, no material injury was done, excepting the breaking of a few panes. The crowd ultimately dispersed, and all was perfectly tranquil at twelve o'clock. The military, however, continued in small numbers about Charing-cross. The Bible Society, in Earl-street, Blackfriars, was lighted up with variegated lamps. A few houses in Sun-street, were illuminated; also in Gracechurch-street.

The illuminations in the Borough were extremely general: almost every house was lighted from London-bridge to Stone's-end, and many were adorned with fanciful decorations. In one were three busts of the Queen, each surrounded with white ribands, and bows of white ribands were tastefully displayed. In another were the words "Carolina Regina," inscribed on white silk, and surrounded by variegated lamps. In every direction brilliant stars, and festoons formed of lamps, were seen, and garlands of white flowers were exhibited from the windows.

The most interesting and novel sight was the



illumination of the ships in the Pool, visible from London-bridge. The effect was extremely grand and beautiful.

On Fish-street-hill, in Cornhill, Bishopsgate-street, Leadenhall-street, and the Minories, the illumination was very general. Parties with flambeaux and white cockades paraded the streets, crying "Long live Queen Caroline," and chanting "Rule Britannia." Some of them were peculiarly loud in their vociferations of "*Non mi Ricordo*;" but not the least appearance of riot or disturbance was observed. In Cheapside and Ludgate-hill there was scarcely a house which was not illuminated.

The bells of the several parish churches rang merry peals, and all the coaches that left London bore marks of the general joy, the coachmen having decorated their hats and their horses with a profusion of white ribands. The neighbouring villages were not slow in testifying their sympathy with the feelings of the metropolis. Chelsea, Greenwich, Deptford, &c. soon resounded with the shouts of triumph.

During the evening the military paraded the streets, and on their arriving at Temple-bar they were about to enter the City, but were prevented by the proper authorities, without a due order; they were necessitated to return, and confine themselves to marching backward and forward the extent of the Strand. They received the cheers of the populace as they passed along.

Several officers attempted to disperse the mob, who rallied upon them with much fury, and eventually overpowered them.

The illuminations and rejoicings continued for three successive nights, and every mail that arrived from the country brought intelligence of the joy which pervaded every part of the kingdom, upon the failure of one of the most obnoxious bills which was ever brought before the British Parliament; and the proceedings of which will long remain as an indelible disgrace upon those who advised it, and upon those who supported it.

One of the first steps which her majesty took on the failure of the Bill, was a demand for a palace suitable to her dignity as Queen Consort, and her letter to Lord Liverpool was to the following effect :—

Her Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain informs Lord Liverpool that he has her majesty's commands to require from his majesty's government, that, without any further delay, a palace and establishment should be provided, suitable to her majesty's rank in the country in which she is now to reside.

That this had been much too long deferred, with a view either to the station of her majesty or the honor of the crown; nevertheless, that in the circumstances of the time her majesty was willing to overlook such delay.

But that it must be evident that no further time ought to elapse without finally arranging this matter.

In answer, Lord Liverpool was merely understood to say, that he had not yet received the

King's commands on the subject of a dwelling for her majesty, but that he would communicate them to Mr. Craven, the moment it was in his power to do so.

Lord Liverpool states, subsequently,—

That he has received his majesty's commands to inform the Queen, that it is not possible for his majesty, under all the circumstances, to assign any of the royal palaces for the Queen's residence. Lord Liverpool has been further commanded to inform the Queen, that, until Parliament shall meet for the despatch of business, the allowance which has hitherto been enjoyed by the Queen will be continued to her, and that it will then be for Parliament to determine the amount of the future provision to be granted to her majesty.

In an annexed paper Lord Liverpool adds,

That he thinks it material to observe, that this answer must not be understood as withdrawing the facilities which had been previously offered for procuring a residence in London for the Queen.

In consequence of this intimation on the part of Lord Liverpool, her majesty determined to make an appeal to Parliament; accordingly, on the 23d of November, at the meeting of the House of Commons, Mr. Denman rose, about five minutes past two, with a paper in his hand, which he said was a communication from the Queen.

At the same time the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod entered the House, and advanced to the table; amidst the loudest cries for "Mr. Denman." With these cries were mingled shouts of "withdraw, withdraw," addressed

to the Black Rod. Mr. Denman continued standing with the message in his hand, and did not for a moment give way to that officer. Not a word the Usher said was heard. His message was drowned amidst the most indignant and vehement cries of "*Shame, shame,*" from all parts of the House. His lips moved, but no sound was audible. After this mummery, the Black Rod retreated, apparently much agitated. A pause ensued, when

Mr. Tierney rose, and observed that not one word of what had fallen from the Deputy Usher had been heard; and how, then, did the Speaker know what was the message, or whether he was wanted at all in the other House? (Loud cheering, intermingled with cries of "Order" from the Treasury-bench.)

The Speaker then rose, the uproar still continuing, and Mr. Bennet exclaiming, with a loud voice—"This is a scandal to the country."

The Speaker then proceeded down the body of the House amidst the most deafening cries of "*Shame, shame,*" and loud and repeated hisses. Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a very few ministerial members, accompanied the Speaker. Lord Castlereagh followed close to him.

A considerable proportion of the members remained in the House awaiting the Speaker's return; but it turned out, contrary to all precedent, that no speech had been made by the

commissioners—and the Speaker did not return to the House of Commons, but went straight to his private apartments, leaving the House of Commons to collect as they could that a prorogation had actually taken place.

On the Speaker's return from the House of Peers, as he was passing through the lobby, the Sergeant at Arms, who was preceding him, was, as is usual, about to enter the door of the House of Commons, when the Speaker called to him, and said, " Mr. Seymour, there is no business to be done; therefore I cannot go into the House." The Sergeant bowed, and the Speaker passed quickly into the avenues leading to his house.

Mr. Brougham had previously communicated in writing, to the Speaker and Lord Castlereagh, that a message would be delivered from the Queen. The Speaker had returned for answer, that he would take the chair at a quarter before two, although the general practice had been not to take the chair until two.

The following is the Message which Mr. Denman was stopped as he was about to read:—

CAROLINE R.

The Queen thinks it proper to inform the House of Commons that she has received a communication from the King's ministers, plainly intimating an intention to prorogue the Parliament immediately, and accompanied by an offer of money for her support, and for providing her with a residence until a new session may be holden

This offer the Queen has had no hesitation in refusing. While the late extraordinary proceedings were pending, it

might be fit for her to accept the advances made for her temporary accommodation; but she naturally expected that the failure of that unparalleled attempt to degrade the Royal Family would be immediately followed by submitting some permanent measure to the wisdom of Parliament—and she has felt that she could no longer, with propriety, receive from the ministers what she is well assured the liberality of the House of Commons would have granted, as alike essential to the dignity of the throne, and demanded by the plainest principles of justice.

If the Queen is to understand that new proceedings are meditated against her, she throws herself with unabated confidence on the representatives of the people, fully relying on their justice and wisdom to take effectual steps to protect her from the further vexation of unnecessary delay, and to provide that these unexampled persecutions may at length be brought to a close.

The main reason, however, of this ungenteel treatment, was the wish to indulge a petty revenge against the Queen, by putting off the regular parliamentary provision for her maintenance, and keeping her dependant on the bounty of ministers.

We have already had occasion to enlarge upon the religious character of the Queen, and in no instance was it more conspicuous than in the resolution which she formed of offering up her thanks to Heaven for the signal defeat which her enemies had sustained, and she consequently determined to attend divine service at Hammersmith church the second Sunday after the rejection of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. On the Wednesday previous, her intention to do so was com-

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municated by letter to the Rev. Mr. Attwood, vicar of the parish, who, in the most respectful manner, instantly expressed his readiness to make the necessary arrangements for her majesty's convenience, offering her at the same time the use of his own pew. Mr. Hieronymus, by whom the letter had been conveyed to Mr. Attwood, then waited on Mr. Gomme, the churchwarden, to whom he also stated the intention of his royal mistress, adding, that it was her majesty's desire to be received with as little ostentation as possible. On Friday, a meeting of the parish-officers was held at the committee-room of the Latimer Charity, for the purpose of arranging the manner in which her majesty was to be received, when it was agreed that her commands, as expressed by Mr. Hieronymus, should be attended to with as much strictness as was consistent with her majesty's convenience and comfort. The only additional preparations made on the occasion were, a state chair, a footstool, and a table, all covered with crimson cloth, which were placed in Mr. Attwood's pew. The floor of the pew was also covered with Turkey carpeting.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather during the early part of the day, an immense concourse was assembled around the church long before the hour at which public worship commences, and thousands of respectable individuals were unable, not only to procure seats, but even to gain admission into the church. The utmost atten-

tion and civility were shown to the strangers who applied for accommodation; but their numbers were so utterly disproportioned to the dimensions of the church, that only a moiety of the earliest applicants succeeded in the object of their wishes.

At eleven o'clock her majesty arrived in her state carriage at the outer gate, opposite to the chancel. The avenue leading from the gate to the chancel—about forty feet in length—was covered with fine floor-cloth; and on each side it was lined by a deputation of gentlemen, bearing white wands, and selected from among the inhabitants of the hamlet, to testify their respect for their Queen. All those who had been unable to obtain admission into the church, crowded together on each side of the avenue through which her majesty was to pass from her carriage, eager to gratify their curiosity by a view of that illustrious Queen, whose unmerited sufferings and heroic fortitude have commanded the sympathy and the admiration of every truly British bosom. The utmost propriety and decency of conduct was evinced on this occasion by the persons assembled. The male part of the crowd stood uncovered while her majesty passed from her carriage, but not a cheer was uttered by any individual present; not the slightest indication of feeling was exhibited that was inconsistent with the solemnity of the occasion. Her majesty having been met at the outer gate by the Rev.



Mr. Attwood, the vicar, and the Rev. Mr. Leggett, the curate, was handed into the church by her Vice-chamberlain, Sir William Gell. She was also attended by Lady Anne Hamilton, Mr. Alderman Wood, Chevalier Vassali, and several other members of her household. Her majesty entered through the chancel, and, advancing along the middle aisle, took her seat in the pew usually occupied by Mr. Attwood's pupils, but which had been fitted up for her majesty's reception on this occasion.

The usual morning service was read by the Rev. Mr. Leggett. When the Rev. gentleman came to that part of the Liturgy in which it was formerly customary to pray for the Queen, the eyes of all the congregation were rivetted on him, and an anxious apprehension seemed to be depicted in every countenance. This expression quickly gave place to one of marked disappointment, when the Rev. curate, after the prayer for the king, read the amended court-version of the Litany, "That it may please Thee to bless and preserve all the Royal Family." It was generally understood, that her majesty had expressed a wish that the clergyman who officiated should not deviate in any respect from the usual forms on account of her attendance. The lesson selected by Mr. Leggett was particularly applicable to the Queen and her enemies: It was the 39th chapter of Isaiah, and we insert the first eight verses :

"Behold, the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear: but your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear. For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue hath muttered perverseness. None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth: they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. Their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not; and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace."

The 14th verse is participulary striking:—

"Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen into the street, and equity cannot enter."

The communion service was then read at the altar by Mr. Attwood, who afterwards preached from the following text: "But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." Jer. ix. 24.

The ordinary service being concluded, a considerable time elapsed before the crowded congregation could retire. All but those who intended

to communicate having at length withdrawn from the church, her majesty went to the altar, and received the Holy Communion. The crowd continued assembled in the church-yard till her majesty and her suite had returned to their carriages, and then they dispersed in the most decent and orderly manner.

Her majesty, however, was not satisfied with simply offering up her prayers for her safe deliverance from the hands of her enemies in the parish church of Hammersmith, but following the example of George III. after his recovery from his afflicting malady, she determined to attend divine service at St. Paul's; and on the 17th of November, the following notification of her majesty's intention was forwarded to the Lord Mayor:—

*Lower Brook-street, Nov. 17th.*

Mr. Keppel Craven has received her majesty's commands to inform the Lord Mayor that it is her majesty's wish to attend divine service at St Paul's, on Sunday, November 26

*Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.*

To this the Lord Mayor returned an answer, intimating that her majesty's notification should be attended to.

*Lower Brook-street, Nov. 17th.*

Mr. Keppel Craven has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Lord Mayor's letter, in answer to the communication he made to the Lord Mayor, by the command of her majesty the Queen. Mr. Keppel Craven will not fail to lay the Lord Mayor's note before her majesty, and to forward to the Lord Mayor any further information he may receive on the subject.

*Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.*

*Lower Brook-street, Nov. 17th.*

In addition to the communication I had the honour to make to you, this morning, I have now, by her majesty's commands, to inform you, that her majesty having understood that it is customary to perform divine service three times a-week in St. Paul's cathedral, her majesty selects Wednesday, the 29th instant, in preference to Sunday the 26th, feeling, that perhaps the concourse of people who might be drawn together would not be quite suited to the solemnity of the Sabbath-day.

KEPPEL CRAVEN.

*Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.*

In consequence of this intimation of her majesty, the subject came under discussion in the court of Common Council, when the following resolution was moved, and finally agreed to.

Resolved,—That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and court of Common Council, do attend her majesty on that occasion, and that a special committee be appointed to devise a mode for receiving her majesty in a suitable manner.

At a subsequent meeting of the court, a committee of the corporation was appointed to confer with the Dean and Chapter upon the mode of ordering and conducting the necessary arrangements, and to take the proper steps for preserving the peace of the city.

The committee were accordingly introduced to Dr. Hughes, the Dean himself being out of town: they were received with every mark of politeness and respect by the Rev. Doctor, but soon discovered that his authority was exceedingly limited, and controlled by the higher powers, whose orders, it should seem, he was restrained

from agreeing to any one of the essential regulations or arrangements the committee proposed.

It was the wish of the committee that the admission to the cathedral should be by tickets only; but though this arrangement is generally adopted upon all public occasions, Dr. Hughes's instructions were peremptory on this head—that the doors should be thrown open as upon ordinary occasions; at the same time, with admirable consistency, the committee were given to understand that the Lord Mayor and corporation would be looked to as responsible for any injury the cathedral might sustain.

The committee, with the Lord Mayor at their head, urged the utter impossibility of ensuring order and tranquillity if this determination was adhered to; that the indiscriminate admission of all intruders upon such an occasion was calculated to insure and promote the confusion professed to be dreaded; and declared, that under such circumstances, they would not be responsible for any consequences that might occur.

After much discussion, it was at length arranged and agreed that every member of the corporation should have a ticket for himself and one other person; that the members of the committee, about thirty in number, should be allowed two tickets each, besides their personal admission; and that 2,000 respectable householders, sworn in as special constables, should be admitted into the cathedral, for the purpose of forming a line to

keep off the crowd, and preserve a clear passage for her majesty to proceed to the seat prepared for her. The regular notices from the Lord Mayor were accordingly issued, inviting the citizens to enrol themselves as special constables for the occasion; and Mr. Alderman Wood attended at the Guildhall, for the purpose of swearing them in.

At a subsequent interview with Dr. Hughes fresh difficulties arose; the permission of an extra ticket to the members of the committee was revoked; and it was intimated that the committee would not be suffered to appear with wands, as it was the wish of the Dean and Chapter that there should be nothing like a procession. A number of respectable ladies, to the amount of one hundred, were desirous of being permitted to receive her majesty upon her entry into the cathedral, but the proposition was immediately objected to by the representative of the Dean, as wholly improper and inadmissible.

The use of wands was strongly contended for by the committee, as proper and necessary marks of authority, without which it was hopeless for them to attempt to regulate a body of 2,000 constables, who would have no means of knowing to whose directions they were to conform. The attendance of respectable females upon such an occasion, and for the purpose proposed, it was observed, must be most gratifying to her majesty,

and, under proper arrangements, could be productive of no confusion or disorder.

In vain, however, was all argument or observation on the part of the committee; the Rev. Doctor had received his instructions, from which it was evident he had no authority to depart, and at the breaking up of the conference it was the general understanding that the Lord-Mayor and the committee, finding all their efforts to effect a proper arrangement useless, would relinquish all responsibility with regard to the interior of the cathedral, and direct their attention solely to the previous attendance upon her majesty, and the preservation of the peace during her entry and return through the city.

The committee met again at the Guildhall in the evening; the Lord-Mayor and Dr. Hughes were present; but at ten o'clock, when they broke up, no essential alteration to the previous arrangement had been obtained. The use of wands to the committee was, however, conceded, upon their assurance that they should be used only for the purpose of the peace, and not in any ceremonial.

Dr. Hughes appeared most anxious on his own part to afford every accommodation to the committee; but frankly confessed he acted under the orders of higher powers than the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

The 29th being the day appointed by her ma-

jesty for public thanks, at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the defeat of the late conspiracy against her honor, the metropolis and its vicinity, in every direction, presented such scenes of active bustle and splendor, as we believe its oldest inhabitants never before witnessed, and such as will not be forgotten by the youngest who did witness it. Certainly on no public occasion within our memory has the interest or the enthusiasm of the metropolis been so unanimously evinced as on the present. The feeling was natural, and it was general. The scene which that day presented would, even if there were no other circumstances in their favor, be sufficient to acquit Englishmen generally of any participation in the late nefarious attempt to degrade their Queen, and, through her, the illustrious House of Brunswick.

We apprehend that the hirelings who daily amused themselves and disgusted the public, by declaring that only the Radicals, or rabble (as they usually term the working classes of the community) evinced any feeling for her majesty under her manifold persecutions, were now obliged to alter their tone, if indeed they had any respect for truth yet remaining; for such a practical disproof of their daily slanders was given on this day, as must have convinced even their masters. It is impossible to convey to those who did not witness that day's procession any accurate idea of the intense interest which it excited; and, therefore, any



description, however correct in detail, must fall far short of what really did take place.

At a very early hour in the morning every street and avenue leading to Hyde-park-corner began to be thronged with an unusual concourse of spectators on horseback and on foot. Those who were to form the escort of her majesty from Hammersmith to town went on towards that rendezvous; the others, who were to meet her on her arrival, established their head-quarters in Hyde-park. At a quarter past nine o'clock about 150 gentlemen on horseback assembled at Hammersmith, from whence they proceeded in a body to the field in front of Brandenburg-house: there they were formed three abreast, according to the arrangement which had been previously made. In this manner one body, of about fifty horsemen, which was to precede her majesty's carriage, proceeded to the avenue before the house, the remaining body, whose numbers had by this time considerably increased, forming in like manner in the rear. Her majesty's state carriage, drawn by six chestnut horses, was at the door about half-past nine; and at a little before ten her majesty was handed into it, followed by Lady Anne Hamilton. Only one carriage belonging to the Queen was in the suite: this was occupied by her Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain, the Honourable Keppel Craven. Before the cavalcade left the grounds, it was joined by a barouch and four, which took its station about

fifty paces in the rear of her majesty's carriage. The barouch was occupied by the churchwardens and some other officers of the parish of Hammersmith. At a few minutes before ten o'clock the procession moved off in very excellent order towards Hammersmith. In passing the parish-church her majesty was warmly greeted by the cheers of the charity-children, who were drawn up in front, dressed in their holyday-gear; but their juvenile plaudits were almost drowned in the louder shouts of the older inhabitants of the village, who seemed to vie with each other in expressing their feelings of gratitude and veneration for their benefactress and Queen. Many of the houses in the village were decorated with handsome flags, with various devices and mottos, expressive of a conviction of her majesty's innocence, and of the injustice of her persecutors; and there were few houses which were not ornamented with laurel-leaves, intermixed with knots of white riband, as emblematic of the late victory of injured innocence over powerful oppression. The windows were thronged with well-dressed females, who, by waving of handkerchiefs, and occasionally of streamers of white riband, evinced their warm concurrence in the general feeling. We ought not to omit, that from a very early hour a large flag waved from the church-top, and the bells continued ringing "merry peals" until her majesty passed through.

After the cavalcade had passed Hammersmith, very considerable accessions were made to its numbers by those horsemen who had come too late to join it at Brandenburg-house. Viewed from any station on the road's-side, between that and Kensington, it presented a most pleasing spectacle. The richness of the royal liveries, the number and respectability of the equestrian escort, the handsome decorations of the horses, and the tasteful knots of white favors (added, in very many instances, to medallions of her majesty, suspended from the neck by blue ribands), gave to the entire spectacle a splendid and interesting appearance. On the arrival of the procession at Kensington, her majesty was received with most enthusiastic cheers. Every aperture of every house, through which even a glimpse could be had, had been occupied by "eager and inquiring eyes" long before her majesty's arrival. Flags and banners of various descriptions floated from many houses, and in others their place was supplied by the waving of less costly emblems—handkerchiefs and ribands. All, however, were equally significant of the same feeling—the heartfelt satisfaction of the inhabitants at the triumph of their much-injured Queen. The repeated cheers of the thousands who occupied the doors and windows, and lined the streets, her majesty graciously acknowledged in the most kind and dignified manner.

The procession was partly delayed for a few

moments at Kensington, by one of the horses to the carriage in which the Honourable Keppel Craven rode, becoming suddenly restive and unmanageable. Mr. Craven was, in consequence, detained while the horses were changed; but he rejoined the procession before its arrival at Knightsbridge. Here her majesty was met by Sir Robert Wilson, and a deputation from the large body of gentlemen who waited on horse-back for her at Hyde-park-corner. The gallant officer then took the lead of the procession until it joined the main body from which he had been deputed. At Knightsbridge, also, her majesty was loudly and warmly cheered. The barrack gates were shut, but a number of troopers were in the streets (unarmed), and were the only apparently passive spectators of the scene.

On both sides of the road, from Knightsbridge to Hyde-park-corner, the crowd was immense; and the procession, in consequence, moved at a much slower pace than before. Thousands and thousands of spectators occupied the walls and trees in the Park, and every other eminence from which even an indistinct view of the scene might be obtained. The shouts, cheers, and loud huzzas which rent the air on every side at this period, might have been heard for more than a mile round. Before her majesty arrived at Knightsbridge, the procession was followed by an immense number of carriages of every description, from the barouch to the taxed cart,

minged with spectators of every class, all equally eager to partake in the general jubilee. Many of these carriages and carts went no farther than Hyde-park-corner, owing to the immense pressure of the crowd from thence to the other end of Piccadilly.

Her majesty reached Hyde-park-corner exactly at a quarter before eleven o'clock. The immense multitude of persons there waiting to receive her exceeded any expectation that could be formed, and far surpassed any of the great assemblages which on former occasions have covered the same ground in celebrating the triumphs of eminent popular characters. Such a congregation of the people, which might truly be said to represent the various classes which compose society in this country, was perhaps never before beheld. Nor was it the streets alone, thronged as they were, and the occasional appearance of rank and beauty in the windows of fashionable residences, that presented this complete and extended *coup d'œil*, for similar manifestations of respect and curiosity were exhibited when Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Piccadilly in the year 1814, and on many other occasions of great public interest; but it was the intense anxiety that prevailed to occupy every spot which could command even a instant glance of her majesty as she passed; the decorum of behaviour one to another, in this great throng, denoting at once decent condition in society, and the diffusion of a harmonious feeling

in the various ranks which were assembled, to conduct themselves in the presence of the Queen with that propriety and respect which became the solemnity of the occasion. Balconies, windows, and roofs of the houses in Piccadilly, were filled by the most interesting objects; men, women, and children, alike pressed forward to get a passing glance. The Park walls, the iron railing, and the trees, presented a living mass of occupants, which gave every point of vision the most novel and lively effect. The gentlemen who formed on horseback in Piccadilly, four abreast, had taken up their position at an early hour, and kept a convenient space open for the advance of the procession upon the arrival of her majesty; so that when her majesty's carriage passed through the turnpike, they took the lead, and the whole moved forward in the most perfect order, and without the least inconvenience or delay. Several trumpets sounded a grand salute as the Queen entered Piccadilly, but the shrill noise of the martial instrument was quickly drowned in the enthusiastic and deafening shouts of the people. The shouts were repeated and continued from the tops of the houses and the trees in the Park, so as to keep up a reverberation of sound, which denoted the universal enthusiasm that pervaded all ranks which had assembled. Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Hume, M. P., rode at the side of her majesty's carriage; Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Peter Moore, and several

other members of parliament, followed in their carriages. The Queen surveyed this interesting display of the enthusiastic feeling of the people with dignity and calmness; her repeated obeisances could only be seen by those who, regardless of the horses, pressed close around the coach to express their dutiful attachment to her majesty. As the procession swept along Piccadilly, the carriages, filled by company, which were drawn up on each side of the way, necessarily intruded upon the line of the cavalcade; but so universal was the desire to promote the general ceremony, that casual impediments were speedily removed, with little or no inconvenience to individuals, and we believe without any serious accident, though several small carts were upset, owing to the immense pressure of the people as they passed. From Piccadilly the cavalcade turned into St. James's-street, and here the most picturesque prospect opened upon the eye. The deputations from the different trades of the metropolis, with bands of music, and colours and banners flying, lined St. James's-street at an early hour, and kept an open passage. The harmonious arrangement of the different streamers, the tasteful decorations of some of the banners, blazed upon the eye with the brilliant tints which float in the pomp of a Venetian carnival. The music struck up as the Queen passed, the colours were waved amid the loudest acclamations, and the Queen passed the ancient palace of her prede-

cessors, and the more immediate palace of her husband, attended by a larger number of her fellow subjects, and greeted by more universal enthusiasm, than ever before accompanied any human being upon the same, or indeed any other line of march. In front of Carlton-house, a space was left open for the sentinels on duty to command a view of her majesty when she came opposite their post. They advanced and presented arms, according to the usual etiquette, as the Queen passed, and were applauded by the bystanders for this prompt obedience to their duty. As might have been expected, the pressure became severe when the immense crowds attending her majesty poured into the Strand from Charing-cross. The anxiety to get a glance of her majesty, and catch her eye while in the act of any enthusiastic expression of respect, became more intense as it was found utterly unattainable from the limited breadth of the streets. Her affability and condescension were never more unremittingly displayed. It was, however, impossible to pay it to every body; but, in the language of the poet,

Still her approach with stronger influence warm'd:  
She pleased while distant; but when near she charmed.

She seemed indeed an object of proud exultation—

——— a form design'd for sway,  
Which chiefs may court, and kings with pride obey.

At half-past eleven o'clock the Queen passed through the streets as well as it were practicable,



considering the immense assemblage which pressed upon the cavalcade at all sides.

The city, at a very early hour, presented a scene of unusual bustle and animation. The inhabitants were seen moving in all directions towards Fleet-street; whence vast bodies proceeded westward, anxious to witness the preparations for her majesty's reception at Hyde-park-corner. Carpenters were employed by break of day in securing the windows of the shops, and in erecting seats for the accommodation of those persons whose curiosity might induce them to pay from one to two guineas each for a secure situation, from which they might see the procession.

As early as eight o'clock, crowds of elegantly-dressed ladies took their seats in the different houses along the line of procession. Their appearance contradicted, in the most decided manner, the vile slanders of those who have unblushingly asserted that none but the very meanest order of females commiserated the sufferings of the Queen, or rejoiced in her deliverance. We never, on any occasion, recollect to have seen a brighter or more fascinating assemblage of female loveliness—rendered still more lovely by gracefulness of dress—than the windows of Fleet-street and Ludgate-hill presented. Almost all the ladies wore white favours, and not a few of them indicated the pleasure which they derived from the Queen's triumph by displaying small branches of laurel.

Several deputations from different trades, who had expressed their intention to pay respect to her majesty on this interesting occasion, were stationed in various parts of Fleet-street. The Brass-founders extended in a line across Bridge-street, and made a very handsome appearance. One of their flags was inscribed, "The Queen's guards are men of metal." A deputation of the inhabitants of Southwark drew up almost in the centre of Fleet-street. They exhibited a white silk flag, with the plain inscription, "Borough of Southwark." Several bodies of the united benefit-societies with flags and bands of music, were also drawn up in order, and afforded considerable assistance to the constables, who paraded the street in great numbers.

At half-past eleven o'clock the special and ordinary constables, under the guidance of the City-marshal, and assisted by the Marshal's men, formed a passage through the multitude, for the purpose of admitting the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs to approach Temple-bar. Soon afterwards the clangour of trumpets gave notice that her majesty approached—an intimation which was received with enthusiastic plaudits.

The City-gates had been closed, and the band of trumpeters, which accompanied Sir Robert Wilson, advancing to the portal, sounded a loud flourish. The City-marshal immediately approached, and demanded who was there. He was answered, that her majesty the Queen de-

sired to be admitted into the City of London. The Marshal informed the Lord-Mayor of her majesty's visit, and his lordship gave the necessary orders for admitting her. The gates were then thrown open, and in a few minutes, a numerous cavalcade, consisting of many hundred gentlemen mounted on horseback, entered the City. They all wore white favours, and the heads of their horses were decorated with white rosettes. They were cheered most energetically as they advanced towards St. Paul's. Having arrived there, they drew up round the Cathedral, forming a clear and secure passage. Soon after this body had passed, the gentlemen who formed, as we may term it, "the special guard" of her majesty, approached, and, when the first of them had reached the Lord-Mayor's carriage, the civic part of the procession moved on.

The plaudits on her majesty's entrance into the City exceeded, if possible, all the demonstrations of popular respect hitherto evinced. The waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies was almost universal; and the exulting shouts of assembled myriads made the welkin ring. The flags which were carried by the deputations from different trades, and which presented every variety of colour and of device, formed a most picturesque object, and were much noticed. One of the inscriptions was "The Queen's Guards—the People!" and another "The people have been taught this lesson—Southey." Sir R. Wilson,

who rode on the right side of the Queen's carriage, was loudly cheered; and the same mark of approbation was conferred on Mr. Hobhouse, who appeared in a private chariot, and was dressed in a full court suit.

The whole line from Temple-bar to St. Paul's was excessively crowded at nine o'clock. No cart, carriage, or hackney-coach was to be seen, but well-dressed ladies and gentlemen moving slowly on foot backwards and forwards, as the general current afforded room for moving. Every street and lane adjoining this part of the line of procession was occupied by crowds, who were accommodated with temporary means of viewing the interesting scene. New Bridge-street and Fleet market presented a grand appearance, both for numbers and for elegance. Not a window within view but was occupied by as many ladies and gentlemen of the greatest respectability as could possibly have a glimpse of the procession. Every house-top, every place where a human foot could stand, was required. The top of St. Dunstan's church was covered with a genteel multitude. In Ludgate-hill Mr. Hone's house was conspicuous; it was crowded with spectators; and lamps were suspended for an illumination in the evening, to express "Knowledge is power."

About half-past eleven the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs of London, Alderman Wood, Mr. Pavell, and other members of the Common Council, in their respective coaches, with horses splendidly

decorated, and with all the pomp and state of the metropolitan corporation, proceeded towards Temple-bar to receive her majesty. They were loudly cheered by the immense multitudes on every side as they advanced. At Temple-bar they inverted the order for the return, the Lord Mayor, who had advanced first, now taking his station last. Her majesty, on arriving at Temple-bar, took her station immediately after the Lord Mayor. In the procession to St. Paul's, the corporation were preceded by a large body of the cavalcade, headed by Sir G. Noel. The multitudes along the streets now ranged themselves in the closest phalanx, and cleared a passage for the procession to advance with perfect ease and safety. It is quite impossible to imagine any gratification to the eye or the ear of man more magnificently sublime than this scene presented. Above, below, on every side, nothing was to be seen but eager and continued waving of hats and handkerchiefs; the shouts of congratulation and heart-felt blessings that resounded along, were at once awful and animating. When the preservation of order made it necessary to halt occasionally, those who had a view of her majesty raised a shout of redoubled enthusiasm; this was invariably a signal to all who heard the shout or saw the agitation of white handkerchiefs, to join in the cry of "God bless the Queen," and to wave their white handkerchiefs in token of their conviction of her innocence. Her majesty on these occasions acknow

ledged, with every symptom of feeling and condescension, the ardent expressions of sympathy and admiration which she called forth. The eagerness to get a near view of her majesty was extreme, and must have caused considerable annoyance to many gentlemen in the procession; but no interruption to perfect good humour was any where offered. There was but one attempt at picking pockets, and the attempt was scarcely made, when the miscreant found himself in society that would not harbour him for a moment, he was instantly apprehended. It may safely be affirmed, that so numerous a concourse of human beings was never before seen on the face of the earth. It is proudly peculiar to the Queen of England and the City of London that this immense assemblage should be seen within the barriers of London, to celebrate the triumph of a Queen, the greatest triumph ever obtained over the worst passions that ever disgraced human nature—without one emblem of military control, or one instrument of war, and without the slightest cause to regret their absence.

At half-past twelve her majesty arrived at the outer gate of the grand entrance to St. Paul's. All who had a view of this part of the procession, and immense was the crowd stationed at windows, on house-tops, on hackney-coaches, and on booths erected near the Cathedral, all raised a simultaneous shout; the mass along the streets carried it triumphantly along towards Temple-

bar. During the time her majesty was engaged in the solemn act of giving thanks to God, the multitudes kept their stations. It was dreadfully grand on this occasion, from the roof of a centre house in Ludgate-hill, to view the inseparable mass condensed in the streets below. In the slightest movement that took place, all moved. It was one living mass, as closely packed as it was possible for human beings to be.

The south door of the Cathedral was opened at ten o'clock for the admission of the Canon-Residentiary, the Sub-Canons, the Choir, and the other persons who were to officiate in the solemn service of the day; and at half-past ten the northern door was opened to the members of the Common Council, who formed the committee. These two entrances were then closed for the remainder of the day. The members of the committee were dressed in their municipal robes, each of them wearing a large rosette of white riband on his left breast, and bearing a white wand, the upper part of which was gilt, and ornamented with wreaths of artificial flowers, surmounted with a white silk rosette. To these gentlemen the arrangement of the seats in the choir was intrusted, and it is but justice to state that every exertion was used on their part to accommodate all who were present. At first, only the families of the members of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council, with a few select friends, were admitted and were disposed in the

most convenient seats not appropriated for the reception of those members of parliament, city officers, magistrates, &c. in attendance on her majesty. By half-past eleven o'clock the choir contained a great number of beautiful ladies, dressed in a manner as tasteful and elegant as was consistent with a prudent regard for their health at that season of the year. Among them was observed Mrs. Alderman Wood, and her two lovely and elegant daughters, occupying a seat nearly opposite to that set apart for her majesty. The Bishop's throne and the Dean's seat were not occupied at all, both these reverend dignitaries having written to the Lord-Mayor, prohibiting them from being used. The seat appropriated to her majesty's use on this occasion, was the one uniformly occupied by members of the Royal Family, and called the Bishop's seat: in the middle of the choir, on the south side. The corresponding seat on the opposite side of the choir was set apart for the Lord-Mayor. The Countess Oldi, Madame Felice, Mr. Austin, and others, occupied from an early hour one of the right-side seats, between the door and her majesty's seat. The only interior preparations made on this occasion were the erection of a few seats in the space between the gates of the choir and the nave, and the placing of several forms along the aisle of the choir, between the pulpit and the railing in front of the altar. It has been stated that the committee expressed a wish to lay down



a covering of floor-cloth, or carpeting, from the outer gate of the Cathedral, through the nave and choir, to the seat set apart for her majesty, but that Dr. Hughes's instructions did not permit him to sanction the proposal.

At a quarter before twelve o'clock, the committee of sixty ladies, who were in attendance to receive her majesty, entered the choir, and took their seats on the forms placed in front of the communion-table. They were all, with two exceptions, dressed in white, their hair decorated with white ribands, and white veils hanging gracefully on their shoulders and bosoms. The effect produced by seeing so many beautiful and elegant females uniformly dressed, and seated together, was peculiarly striking and pleasing.

Just as these ladies had taken their seats behind the pulpit, the only act of indecorum that was committed during the whole day—the only exhibition that was inconsistent with the solemnity of the occasion—took place in the Cathedral. While every other person within the choir was evincing that solemn demeanour which was becoming in the house of God, the Rev. Dr. Hughes entered one of the side-stalls, and began to address the Committee of the Common-Council in a loud and angry tone of remonstrance. The Rev. Sub-dean stated, that an agreement had been entered into with the committee, that the gates should be opened to the public at a quarter before twelve o'clock; but he now found that the constables





THE QUEEN'S PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S, NOV<sup>R</sup> 29. 1820.

*London: Published by Thos<sup>o</sup> Kelly 17 Pallmall Row Jan<sup>y</sup> 6. 1821*

who had been stationed at the gates had received orders not to admit the people till the Queen arrived. This he loudly complained of as a violation of the conditions to which the committee had acceded.

One of the committee observed, that although a quarter before twelve might have been the time mentioned at which the gates would be opened to the public, still the committee acted within the spirit of the agreement, since the only object of preventing the promiscuous entrance of the public before twelve o'clock, was to avoid such a pressure inside, as would render it impossible for her majesty to pass either with comfort or with safety.

Dr. Hughes, apparently much irritated, and striking his trencher-cap with violence on the front of the desk, reiterated his complaint that the agreement was violated.

The conduct of the zealous canon drew from the persons assembled in the choir very unequivocal symptoms of disapprobation; but the good sense of the congregation was proof against every artifice resorted to for the purpose of occasioning a tumult.

At thirty minutes past twelve, her majesty approached St. Paul's, and the west centre doors, fronting Ludgate-hill, were thrown open. The vast pile resounded with murmurs of gratulation; and the distant shouts of the multitude without continued to increase in loudness as her majesty drew near to the majestic temple. Notice of

the Queen's approach having been given to Dr. Hughes, he proceeded with the choir, to the west door, to receive her majesty. The committee advanced and joined the choir, and in a few seconds her majesty entered the cathedral amidst loud shouts. The west door was then closed, and her majesty advanced thus attended:—

Two Marshalmen.

Members of the Committee, two and two.

The Officers of the Corporation.

Mr. Sheriff Waithman and Mr. Sheriff Williams.

HER MAJESTY, resting on the arm of the Lord-Mayor.

Alderman Wood, and the Members of her Majesty's Suite.

Lady Hamilton, resting on the arm of Mr. Favell.

Members of the Committee.

Her majesty was also attended by the Hon. Keppel Craven, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hume, M. P., Mr. Hobhouse, M. P., and several other persons of distinction.

As her majesty approached, Mr. Attwood, the organist, performed a voluntary, and one of Mozart's fugues.

Her majesty walked slowly and solemnly up the nave and choir to the seat appointed for her, headed by the Lord-Mayor, and followed by the gentlemen already mentioned. Lady Anne Hamilton was on the Queen's right, and Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Hobhouse on her left. On Lady Anne Hamilton's right was Mr. Hume, and Mr. B. Beaumont. Mr. Keppel Craven stood below, in front of her majesty.

Having left the Queen seated, the Lord-Mayor, followed by the Aldermen and city-officers, proceeded to the opposite side of the choir, and took his seat, Mr. Alderman Wood being on his left, and Sheriffs Waithman and Williams, and their Under-sheriffs, on the left of Alderman Wood. The members of the corporation who were present then arranged themselves in their respective places. The deputation of ladies, who previously sat on the forms in front of the communion-table, now removed to the side-seats on each side of the pulpit. Dr. Hughes took his private seat at the end of the choir.

Her majesty wore a white silk pelisse, with deep trimmings of white fur, and a close turban head-dress, covered with a white veil. As soon as she was placed in her seat, she turned round, and, kneeling slowly down, offered up the usual silent prayer.

The usual morning service was then read; the prayers by the Rev. Mr. Hayes, and the Litany by the Rev. Mr. Pridden and the Rev. Mr. Pack. The service performed was Mr. Nares's, and the chant Lord Mornington's. It is impossible not to remark how strikingly applicable the Psalms appointed for the morning service were to her majesty's situation. The following are two of them:

PSALM CXL. *Eripe me, Domine.*

1. DELIVER me, O Lord, from the evil man: and preserve me from the wicked man.

2. Who imagine mischief in their hearts; and stir up strife all the day long.

8. They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent ; adders' poison is under their lips.

4. Keep me, O Lord, from the hands of the ungodly : preserve me from the wicked men who are purposed to overthrow my goings.

5. The proud have laid a snare for me, and spread a net abroad with cords : yea, and set traps in my way.

6. I said unto the Lord, Thou art my God : hear the voice of my prayers, O Lord.

7. O Lord God, thou strength of my health, thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.

8. Let not the ungodly have his desire, O Lord : let not his mischievous imagination prosper, lest they be too proud.

9. Let the mischief of their own lips fall upon the head of them that compass me about.

10. Let hot burning coals fall upon them : let them be cast into the fire, and into the pit, that they never rise up again.

11. A man full of words shall not prosper upon the earth : evil shall hunt the wicked person to overthrow him.

12. Sure I am that the Lord will avenge the poor : and maintain the cause of the helpless.

13. The righteous also shall give thanks unto thy name : and the just shall continue in thy sight.

PSALM CXLI. *Domine, clamavi.*

1. LORD, I call upon thee ; haste thee unto me, and consider my voice when I cry unto thee.

2. Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense : and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.

3. Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth : and keep the door of my lips.

4. O let not mine heart be inclined to any evil thing : let me not be occupied in ungodly works with the men that work wickedness, lest I eat of such things as please them.

5. Let the righteous rather smite me friendly : and reprove me.

6. But let not their precious balms break my head : yea, I will pray yet against their wickedness.

7. Let their judges be overthrown in stony places . that they may hear my words, for they are sweet.

8. Our bones lie scattered before the pit : like as when one breaketh and heweth wood upon the earth.

9. But mine eyes look unto thee, O Lord God : in thee is my trust, O cast not out my soul.

10. Keep me from the snare that they have laid for me ; and from the traps of the wicked doers.

11. Let the ungodly fall into their own nets together : and let me ever escape them.

The Litany was read as amended on the accession of his present majesty, no notice being taken of her majesty's name. In the general thanksgiving, the parenthetical clause which it is customary for the officiating clergyman to read at the request of any individual who desires to offer up a particular thanksgiving, was also omitted on this occasion. A dead and solemn silence pervaded the choir during the time of service ; and owing to the excellent arrangements previously made, and already described, it was not uncomfortably crowded. The unaffected solemnity of her majesty's deportment, during the performance of the service, was eminently characteristic of the devout and humble Christian.

Public worship was concluded at a quarter before two o'clock, and the deputation of ladies then moved towards the door of the choir, and arranged themselves on each side of the passage through which her majesty was to walk on proceeding to her carriage.

The corporation, choir, &c., preceded the



Queen on her return, in the same order as on her entrance, the Lord-Mayor walking on her left, and Mr. Alderman Wood going before her majesty to make a way through the people, who pressed round her as she passed, offering up their benedictions and their prayers for her past and future protection by Providence. Her majesty graciously acknowledged these offerings of affectionate loyalty and duty with her accustomed gracefulness and condescension. Having been handed to her carriage by the Lord-Mayor, her majesty left St. Paul's Cathedral, attended by the same procession that had escorted her to this great national temple.

The appearance of St. Paul's Church-yard and Ludgate-Hill, from the western door of the Cathedral, mocks every attempt at description. The scene was truly picturesque. Below the spectator were seen thousands of uncovered heads, undulating in one connected wave, according to the impulse given to the crowd; while the surrounding houses were literally roofed with people, and the fronts of them were almost rendered invisible by the clustered groups that occupied the windows, the balconies, and every ledge and pinnacle on which a human being could maintain a footing.

A few minutes before two o'clock, signals were given of her majesty's return, and all became alacrity and attention. At two precisely the procession began to move. Her majesty was now

seen to great advantage, the carriage being opened. This high gratification gave infinite energy to the joy and exultation of all. Her majesty seemed deeply affected, and signified her sense of the national homage now done to her innocence and moral courage, in the most courteous and gracious manner. The Lord-Mayor attended her majesty to Temple-bar, and then returned, loudly and warmly cheered.

The crowd in the Strand continued nearly as thronged as when the procession first passed; in addition to which, a vast number of vehicles of every description were stationed close to the footway, the owners of which took advantage of the public feeling, by letting out seats and standing-room to those who were not fortunate enough to gain admission to any of the houses in the street. For such accommodation, inconvenient as it was, as high as half-a-crown was in many instances demanded, and readily given. In her passage through the Strand, and on to Hyde-park-corner, her majesty was again most enthusiastically cheered. On this occasion the almost countless thousands who filled the streets, doors, and windows, were gratified with a sight of her majesty as she passed. Her majesty's condescension in throwing open her carriage was gratefully acknowledged, and she had thereby the additional gratification of observing more accurately the unaffected and enthusiastic joy which her presence every where inspired. She here

enjoyed one of the greatest of all human consolations to a British Queen—a consolation for which kings and queens may sigh in vain, unless they deserve it—the proud consciousness of possessing the love and affection of her people, and of never having done any act to forfeit their esteem. After the procession had passed, the assemblage moved quietly away, as quickly as multitudes so condensed could get from their several places. Every individual appeared to derive personal distinction and gratification from the undisturbed order and complete effect with which the highest tribute of respect and attachment ever paid to a human being was paid to the calumniated and persecuted, but acquitted and triumphant, Queen Consort of George IV.

Singularly unfortunate as the Queen Consort of England had really been, and powerful as her claim to sympathy might be, there occasionally appeared in her history instances of rare good fortune. The unanimity and perseverance with which the people of England have entertained and expressed the warmest interest and the profoundest devotion, is an instance of good fortune to which the history of princes affords no parallel. Perhaps a 4th of December was never before in England more propitious to the purposes of parade in the open air than that of 1820. Addresses in open carriages, on horseback, and on foot, proceeded through the whole of London and by the

public road to Hammersmith, with all the splendour and comfort which could have been enjoyed in the month of July, and with the additional satisfaction of enjoying an uncommon and unexpected pleasure. The kindly but subdued majesty of the day seemed to accord in amazing harmony with the sentiments of men full of congratulations for the triumph of a Queen, clouded but serene—afflicted but victorious. Her majesty appeared to feel all the influence of the day. Never woman of her age, in any rank, or on any occasion, displayed in her looks more dignity and grace. So powerful and irresistible was the impression of her look and air, that the crowd of ladies and gentlemen in her presence—and they were of the highest respectability—could not be restrained from loud demonstrations of their ardent delight. It has been said that virtue requires but to be fairly seen in order to be universally recognised and admired; but it is a virtue without the perjuries which the vindictive and the venal would throw around her. Whoever fails to recognise and admire the Queen of England as innocent and injured, views her only through the mists of perjury and well-paid prejudice.

There were not fewer than thirty-nine addresses presented to her majesty on that day. The first was from the parish of St. John, Hackney; it was presented and read by the chairman, Mr. Christie. A great number of ladies and gentlemen attended with this address, and had the honour of kissing

her majesty's hand. They were highly respectable; all came in carriages and four. Mr. Alderman Wood read her majesty's reply.

The next address presented was from Norwich. It was presented by a deputation, consisting of the Deputy-Mayor W. Smith, Esq., M. P., and Mr. Taylor. It was most graciously received.

The address of the inhabitants of Farringdon-within was presented by Mr. Deputy Crowder, and read by Mr. Herring. It was most graciously received, and the ladies and gentlemen who attended kissed her majesty's hand.

The address from Brighton was presented to her majesty by John Chatfield, Esq., supported by Edward Thunder, Esq., and Mr. Slight. Their reception from her majesty was gratifying in the highest degree. Her majesty stepped forward, and with the greatest animation said, "I am happy to find the inhabitants of Brighton have not forgotten me, though some have done so." Mr. Chatfield replied, "And your majesty may be assured they never will forget you."

The address from Kimpton and Grately, Hants, was presented by the Rev. Mr. Hutchin, and received with marked condescension.

Lieut. Ladd, of the royal navy, presented the address from Buckland. Her majesty received it very graciously.

Mr. Little presented the address from Annan.

A numerous and respectable deputation of ladies and gentlemen waited upon her majesty

with the address from St. Matthew's, Bethnal-green. Mr. Ball, the chairman, presented and read the address. All had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand.

Mr. Tucker, the portreeve, and Dr. Brine, presented the address from Ashburton.

Colonel Jones presented an address from Newcastle-under-Lyme.

The addresses from the following places were then successively presented by Mr. Alderman Wood : —

Northampton,  
Chippenham,  
Arbreath, N. B.  
Nottingham,  
Gainsborough,  
Great Yarmouth,  
Bury St. Edmund's,  
Eye,  
Linlithgow, N. B.  
Huddersfield,

Culross,  
Wellingborough,  
Marnhill,  
Hertford,  
Kelso (incorporated trades),  
Kelso (merchants' company),  
March, Isle of Ely,  
Hilton, Derbyshire,  
Castleton, and  
Preston.

Also from the Benefit Societies of

Andover and Charlton,  
Whitchurch,  
Highclere,  
East Woodhay.

West Woodhay,  
Whitway, and  
Newton.

The worthy alderman likewise presented addresses from Grimsby, Sutton, and St. Neot's.

Her majesty then retired for a short time, till the procession of Furriers, Skinners, and Leatherdressers, had arranged themselves, with their

flags, banners, and emblematical representations, along the gallery.

The procession was on foot, and displayed a great number of beautiful flags and banners, with appropriate inscriptions, viz.—

“ Our Country and Commerce.”

A white flag, with the initials C. R.

Another, with the inscription “ Not Guilty.”

A white flag—Motto, “ Virtue often suffers when Vice goes unpunished.”

A white flag—Motto, “ Thank God, the People, and the Press.”

A white flag—Motto, “ United we stand.”

The Fellmongers’ Arms.

The figure of a Lamb, carried by a gentleman on horseback, with a white flag, inscribed, “ Innocence Triumphant.”

White flag—Motto, “ Thus shall be done to the Woman whom the People delight to honour.”

The address and reply being read, the chairman, mover, and seconder, kissed her majesty’s hand, and the procession moved in a regular and slow pace across the room before her majesty, from right to left, and then marched out in the same order in which they had entered. Her majesty bowed her head to each individual as he passed, and paid particular attention to all the flags and inscriptions. She examined minutely, and seemed to admire the inscription, “ Thank God, the People, and the Press.” The letters were dyed in red morocco.

Her majesty afterwards presented herself successively at the windows to the south and to the east of the long gallery, and was most raptur-

ously cheered by large crowds assembled on the lawn.

In consequence of the signal defeat which the enemies of her majesty had experienced, it was natural enough to suppose that every petty art and shift would be resorted to, in order to vilify her, and to lower her in the opinion of the English people. Reports were circulated that her majesty was resolved to quit England and retire to Italy, not so much that the air of Italy was congenial to her, but that as it would not be decorous in Bergami to come to England, her majesty must leave England to go to him.—These and other such like reports, circulated by various means and by hireling agents inundated the venal part of the public press, and there was no act too base of which her majesty was not supposed to be guilty.

Unfortunately, however, for these imps of slander and detraction, her majesty, so far from having any intention of leaving the country, was actually at this time in treaty with Prince Leopold for the purchase of the lease of Marlborough-house. His royal highness was ready to transfer his interest in the premises to her majesty, and an arrangement was accordingly begun; when on a sudden it was discovered, that Marlborough-house and Carlton-palace were at a very short distance from each other, and therefore the fitness of the former mansion, as a residence for the Queen, began to be questioned, and it was sub-



sequently determined, that it could not be allowed. Her majesty then, finding that every obstacle was thrown in her way of having a town residence provided for her by the ministers, shortly afterwards entered into a treaty for Cambridge-house, and the treaty was ratified and confirmed on the part of her majesty.

Parliament was now sitting, and every attempt was made by her majesty to have her name restored to the Liturgy. Petitions innumerable were presented from all parts of the kingdom, praying that her majesty might be restored to all the rights and privileges of a Queen Consort; the voice of the people called loudly for it, but it was all to no effect; her majesty was to be treated as a guilty woman, and all the consequences of guilt were to be heaped upon her. Her name was not restored to the Litany, and every engine, which ministers could set in motion, was employed to oppress and annoy her.

Her majesty may now be said to have been living entirely in the hearts of her people, they had fought for her the good fight, and although they had not obtained all they required, yet much had been gained, and the ministers of this country had an admonitory lesson read to them of what the English people can effect when they are united.

Her majesty now appeared more in public. She attended the theatres and other places of public amusement, and wherever a charitable institution

could be benefitted by her patronage; it was most readily and cheerfully granted.

In this state matters rested until the beginning of May last, when the renewed labours of a limited number of men in Westminster-hall led to a belief that the immediate coronation of his majesty had been determined on; and the Queen joining in this belief, although no official announcement had been made to that effect, wrote a letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the 5th, demanding to be present at the ceremony. To this she received the following reply:

Lord Liverpool has received the king's commands, in consequence of the last communication of the Queen to Lord Liverpool of the 5th instant, to inform the Queen that his majesty having determined that the Queen shall form no part of the ceremonial of his coronation, it is therefore his royal pleasure that the Queen shall not attend the said ceremony.

*Fife House, 7th May, 1821.*

In consequence of this intimation, her majesty claimed to be heard before the Privy Council, regarding her right to be crowned; and the claim being granted, the Privy Council met on the 5th of June, and Mr. Brougham began by stating that he had been refused a piece of evidence which it was of importance for him to possess, and which was in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; he meant the *Liber Regalis*, a book that contained the formula of the ceremonies performed at the coronation of the kings of England.

This book they refused to the Counsel unless ordered to do so by the highest authority.

Some conversation then took place among their lordships, when it was determined to send for the

book, and that Mr. Brougham might, in the mean time, proceed with his case—when the book came he could retire and refer to it.

Mr. Brougham then commenced his speech:—

“The question,” he said, “which he had to submit to their lordships was a legal one,—namely, whether the Queen Consort of England had a right to be crowned when the King celebrates the ceremony of the Coronation. He thought he should be able to prove satisfactorily that she had this right; and with this view he should first request their lordships to go back with him into the history of the country: for the ground on which he mainly relied was the uniform and uninterrupted enjoyment of this ceremony by the Queen Consort of England, from the earliest period. He inferred the right of queens to participate in the solemnity so early as the Saxon times, from the circumstance of a law being passed, in the year 784, excluding Queen Adelbriga from the ceremony of being crowned Queen of the West Saxons, because she had murdered her husband. He next quoted passages from ancient records to establish the fact, that the coronation of the Queen Consort with her husband the King was quite a matter of course, and that in the case of Henry VII. when he put off the coronation of his queen, he at length found it was no longer safe for him, on account of popular resentment, to withhold that ceremony to which she was considered as having a solemn right. Henry VII. therefore yielded to public opinion, and the coronation was celebrated on the 25th Nov. 1487, when the queen was crowned. Lord Bacon’s observation was, that it was ‘an old christening, which had long for a godfather.’ This coronation of the Queen was announced in a proclamation in the very same words

in which the King himself had two years and a month before announced the solemnity of his own coronation. Mr. Brougham called their lordships' attention to the fact, that from the Conqueror up to this period, there had been nineteen kings crowned. Eighteen of these were married either before or after the coronation, and of these eighteen the queens were all crowned. Up to that period, fifteen coronations of kings had taken place, the purpose of those solemnities being to crown the king; and fourteen of these solemnities had taken place for the purpose of crowning the queens alone, independently and exclusively of any purpose of crowning the king; and if Margaret, the second wife of Edward I. were included, fifteen would have so taken place. For as many precedents, therefore, as existed, for crowning the kings of England, up to this period, there was precisely the same number of instances for performing the same ceremonial, for the purpose of doing honour to their queens. Of those ceremonials no less than six were known to have been coronations of queens, without the king being crowned a second time with them."

After entering at great length into a history of the various coronations, to the accession of Henry VI., "he would here," he said, "with their lordships' permission, step aside to consider what had been the rule and precedent of Scotland in these matters, where the same custom with that he had been describing, had uniformly taken place, though the documents for the proof of it were by no means so clear or perfect. But this he was prepared to maintain, that there was no instance in the history of Scotland, in which a Queen Consort had not been crowned with or without her husband. He stated this in the broadest terms, and he put it to those who asserted the contrary, to disprove him."

The learned counsel then applied for leave to withdraw to consult the *Liber Regalis*. The Council granted such permission. At half-past one o'clock Mr. Brougham returned, and stated

that he should be obliged to ask for leave to withdraw for at least another hour.

After consulting counsel for a short time, the Council adjourned accordingly, at a quarter before two o'clock, till ten the next morning.

*Second Day.*—The Privy Council having met at ten o'clock on the following day, Mr. Brougham resumed his argument.

“He contended omissions of the exercise of the right of a Queen to be crowned, which might have occurred, were not to be construed into a non-claim of a right which had existed by immemorial usage. The enjoyment of the right had been uniform; and where the right had been interrupted there was no acquiescence on the part of the persons interrupted, nor any adjudication prohibiting the exercise of their claims. So essential was it, in point of fact, that the solemnity of crowning the Queen should take place, that several rights of service and tenure were attached to, and dependent upon it.

“Mr. Brougham then quoted cases where there appeared to be certain offices which the subject was bound to perform, and certain rights which he was entitled to enjoy at the coronation of the Queen, as well as at the coronation of the King. He then asked was the coronation of the Queen a mere unsubstantial trifle—a something which might or might not be done, and of which the performance or the omission was a matter of equal indifference? Was it to be considered as a trifle of so little value, as a matter of so much indifference as to be dispensed with or not, at the will of the Crown—as to rest upon no solid foundation, but to be performed or neglected at the caprice of an individual? No such usage could exist at the mere will and pleasure of the sovereign. To assert the contrary would be to assert that the sovereign reigned, not for the benefit of the realm, but for his own ends. The coronation itself could not be dispensed with by the Crown, because it was a right to be exer-

cised for the public good—which belonged to the sovereign, not in his private capacity as a man, but in his public capacity as a sovereign, acting for the good of the realm. It would be an empty show, a vain, idle, insignificant pageant, if it depended upon the mere will and pleasure of the individual.”

Mr. Denman followed on the same side.

“He dwelt on the importance in a free state of the long train of recollections which connected the people with the origin of their institutions; there was something, too, in such ceremonial which gave every individual pride in the sense of the security of his own rights; and of the stability of the social state, by seeing the rights of others, his fellow-subjects and his sovereign, upheld in the integrity of their rights from the time of the darkest antiquity. The coronation of the Kings and Queens of England rested on custom, and custom alone. There was no positive law which authorised the King to call the people to witness the placing of the crown on his head. It was a ceremonial which derived the force of law from its great antiquity, and from the same antiquity the crowning of the Queen was derived as well as that of the King, and wherever a Queen Consort existed at the time of the King's coronation, never from that high antiquity was the King crowned without her being crowned also, except it was from circumstances of irresistible necessity. Her present majesty, unfortunately, was in a situation in which she could not waive any right which she possessed, without being exposed to the most injurious imputations. It was reserved for her, in this late period of the English monarchy, to demand this right which to all other Queens had been spontaneously granted, as legitimately and necessarily appertaining to the station of Queen Consort.

“With respect to the ceremony of the coronation, it was a solemn compact between the King and his people. The King binds himself to observe the statutes, customs, and laws of the country. Should it be said, that at the moment when he took that solemn oath, he should violate the rights of the first subject of the realm. Could it be supposed that the King could

model this ceremonial at his pleasure, or that, if the Petitioners all those who were accustomed to be present, were all excluded, the very essence of the ceremony would not be destroyed? It was an honor to be allowed to assist at the coronation, for no one could serve at the coronation, either of the King or the Queen, without bearing to the end of his life the title of Esquire.—This was laid down in Dodbridge's Law of Nobility, and Comyns's Digest. He could not figure to himself a single argument in support of the assertion, that the Coronation of the Queen of England was a matter of grace and favour. If it was a matter of grace and favour, it would no doubt be made a stipulation in every marriage contract with a Prince of England, that his Princess should be crowned on her accession. But if her rights were not safe in custom, no dignity was safe, no property secure. He begged to impress upon their lordships, as well as upon the country, that the claim of his illustrious client was put forth in self-defence, because her majesty could not forego that claim without hazarding her reputation or sacrificing her honor, which, to her, was dearer than life itself."

The Court then adjourned to the following day, and at an early hour the avenues leading to the Council Chamber, Whitehall, were thronged with strangers, anxious to hear the arguments of the King's Attorney-General against her majesty's claim to be crowned. A little after ten o'clock the Lord Chancellor arrived, and in a few minutes the Queen's Counsel were called in.

The King's Attorney-General was then ordered to proceed.

"He began by contending, that her majesty's claim was perfectly unfounded. This right had never been mentioned as claimed by any former Queen, by any writer on the ceremony of the coronation, or by any one of those authorities who had considered the privileges of Queens Consort. The ground,

therefore, on which the claim was founded was usage; and it had been stated that long-continued usage was acknowledged as the foundation of rights in the law of this country.

“When talking, however, of rights founded upon usage, it was not enough merely to show that such and such things had taken place, but it should be shown under what circumstances the supposed rights had taken place, and the manner in which they had been exercised. It was necessary not only to state the fact of usage, but to show that it had taken place with the permission of the other party. Their lordships, in the present instance, would see how the right claimed had originated, and how it had been performed; and they would also see that the law of usage, as he explained it, did not apply, for he should show that the coronation of the Queen was not a right, but a mere favour conferred by the King. Even if there had been no interruption in the usage since the Norman Conquest, that would not make it a right in the Queens Consort. It would only show that it was permitted them to enjoy the coronation, as an honor conferred on them by the King. With respect to the King it was more than a ceremony, because it was a sworn compact between him and his people; yet, by the law of the country, it was never considered more than a mere ceremony, till the statute of the first of William and Mary; the whole proceeding from his will, and he directing all that was to be done on the occasion. With respect to the Queen Consort, who fills no political character in the state, who has privileges merely as the wife of a King, it was a mere act of favour on the part of the King. At the coronation there was no political act done by her; she took no oath on the occasion; there was no presentation of her to the people; no compact between her and them made at that time; it was a mere honorable ceremony towards her as the wife of the King. Therefore, if with respect to the King, it was a mere ceremony, how much more was it so with respect to the Queen? But although it was a mere ceremony with respect to the King, even after the Act of William and Mary, it was one which it would be highly improper to advise him not to have performed. That it was a mere ceremony, Lord Coke stated, in Calvin's case,



when speaking of James I., he said, that no *ex post facto* law was necessary to secure or substantiate his title to the crown; that he was as much and truly a King before the coronation, as after it. To prove this, and refute the assertion that James I. was liable to legal process before being crowned, Lord Coke instanced Henry VI. who had reigned eight years before his coronation. But he (the Attorney-General) again repeated, that although it was a mere magnificent ceremony, it was also a solemn compact between the King and his people, securing them their rights and privileges, and therefore the coronation might take place at any period of the King's reign, and was therefore an act entirely proceeding from the King's will. But if this were the case—if it at the same time was an occasion on which the King entered into a political compact with his people, *a fortiori*, the Queen Consort, who had no political rights, her privileges merely following from her marriage, not from her coronation, who entered into no political compact, and from whom therefore nothing was asked at her coronation or promised by her, had no right to be crowned. He (the Attorney-General) had before stated, that no notice was to be found of this ceremony previous to the statute of 1st William and Mary, and he would now refer to that Act. He then proceeded to read the preamble of this statute—setting forth that, ‘whereas by the usage and law of the land, the King and the Queen take an oath at their coronation, to observe, &c.’ (Here the Attorney-General observed, that it was necessary for him to remark, that as Queen Consorts never took any oath at their coronation, it was evident the words of the Act meant Queens Regnant.) He then went on to show, that this statute proved the Queen Consort had no right to be crowned; because, although it prescribed the oath to be taken at the coronation, it established a difference between the King and Queen. How then he would ask, could it be contended that the coronation of the Queen was a necessary adjunct to the coronation of the King? Having thus established that with respect to Queens Consort it was a mere ceremony, he would support this opinion by the authority of Seldon, who expressly stated, that in its

early origin, the coronations of Queens Consort entirely proceeded from the will and pleasure of the King.—The Queen, in short, could no more demand her own coronation than she could that of the King.

The Attorney-general was followed in his argument by the Solicitor-general; Mr. Brougham then replied, and the decision of the Council was deferred till the 10th.

On Wednesday the 11th of July, the following decision of the Privy Council was transmitted by Lord Sidmouth to Viscount Hood.

At the court at Carlton-house, the 10th July, 1821, present, the King's most excellent Majesty in council. Whereas, there was this day read at the board a report from a committee of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, in the words following, viz. :—Your majesty having been pleased, by your order in council of the 3d of this instant, to refer unto this committee the several memorials of her majesty the Queen, claiming a right to be crowned on the same day and at the same place which has been appointed for the coronation of your majesty, and praying to be heard by counsel in support of the said claim: the lords of the committee, in obedience to your majesty's said order of reference, have accordingly heard her majesty's attorney and solicitor-general in support of her majesty's said claim; and having also heard the observations of your majesty's attorney and solicitor-general thereupon, their lordships do agree humbly to report to your majesty their opinions, that as it appears to them that the Queens-Consort of this realm are not entitled of right to be crowned at any time, her majesty the Queen is not entitled, as of right, to be crowned at the time specified in her majesty's memorials — His majesty having taken this said report into consideration, has been pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to approve thereof.

C. C. GRENVILLE.

In consequence of this decision, her majesty wrote the following letter to Lord Sidmouth:—

*Brandenburg-house, July 11, 1821.*

My lord,—Your lordship's letter of yesterday to Lord Hood, conveyed to me the report of the committee of council on my Memorial to the King in council, claiming my right to be crowned; and as I find the committee positively denies that right which I have claimed, and which all Queens-Consort have enjoyed (without one exception arising from the will of the sovereign), I consider it necessary to inform your lordship that it is my intention to be present at the ceremony on the 19th, the day fixed for his majesty's coronation; and I therefore demand that a suitable place may be appointed for me.

*Rt. Hon. Viscount Sidmouth.*

CAROLINE R.

The following is a copy of a letter received by the Queen, purporting, by implication, to be from Lord Sidmouth, but without address or signature.

*Whitehall, July 13, 1821.*

Madam—I have laid before the king your majesty's letter to me of the 11th of this month, in which it is stated that your majesty considers it necessary to inform me, that it is your majesty's intention to be present at the ceremony of the 19th, the day fixed for his majesty's coronation, and you, therefore, demand that a suitable place may be appointed for your majesty; and I am commanded by the king to refer your majesty to the Earl of Liverpool's letter to your majesty of the 7th of May last, and to acquaint your majesty that it is not his majesty's pleasure to comply with the application contained in your majesty's letter.

Upon perusal of the above, her majesty immediately despatched a messenger to Lord Sidmouth with the following reply:—

*Brandenburg-house, July 13, 1821.*

*Five o'clock, p. m.*

My lord,—I have this instant received a letter, dated Whitehall, July 13, without any signature, I therefore consider it as anonymous, and shall treat it as such, till I hear from your lordship.

CAROLINE R.

*The Rt. Hon. Viscount Sidmouth.*

Lord Sidmouth lost no time in repairing the error which had been unintentionally committed, and acknowledged the authenticity of the letter.

On Monday the 16th of July, Lord Hood wrote a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal of England, informing him that it was her majesty's intention to be at Westminster-abbey at half past eight o'clock on Thursday morning following, and requesting him to have persons in attendance to conduct her to her seat.

Her majesty also wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which she informed him of her desire to be crowned some day after the king, and before the arrangements were done away with, so that there might be no additional expense. The archbishop, in his answer, represented that he could take no part in the ceremony except in consequence of orders from the sovereign. The Duke of Norfolk, in his answer, stated, that he was not acting in his character of earl marshal, and referred her majesty to his deputy, Lord Howard of Effingham. It never, however, was her majesty's intention to attend the Banquet in the Hall, as she considered it unbecoming to be pre-

sent at a mere dining ceremony, while she thought it important not to shrink from the right of participating or witnessing the solemn service of the Coronation in the Abbey.

The following letter was received by Lord Hood, chamberlain to her majesty, on Tuesday, from Lord Howard of Effingham:—

9, *Mansfield-street*, July 16.

My lord,—The Duke of Norfolk having transmitted to me as appointed to do the duties of the office of Earl Marshal of England at the ceremony of the approaching coronation, your lordship's letter to his grace of the 15th instant, I thought it incumbent on me to lay the same before Viscount Sidmouth, the secretary of state for the home department, and I have just learnt from his lordship, in reply, that having received a letter, dated the 11th instant, from the Queen, in which her majesty was pleased to inform him of her intention of being present at the ceremony of the 19th, the day fixed for his majesty's royal coronation, and to demand that a suitable place should be appointed for her majesty, he was commanded by the king to acquaint her majesty, that it was not his majesty's pleasure to comply with the application contained in her majesty's letter: I have accordingly to request that your lordship will make my humble representation to her majesty of the impossibility, under these circumstances, of my having the honour of obeying her majesty's commands.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordships most obedient humble servant,

HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM,  
*Acting as Earl Marshal of England.*

*Lord Viscount Hood.*

Her majesty's law advisers then had a consultation, and the following Protest against the decision of the Privy Council was drawn up, and signed by her majesty.

CAROLINE REGINA.

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,—The Protest and Remonstrance of Caroline Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Your majesty having been pleased to refer to your Privy Council the Queen's memorial, claiming as of right to celebrate the ceremony of her coronation on the 19th day of July, being the day appointed for the celebration of your majesty's royal coronation, and Lord Viscount Sidmouth, one of your majesty's principal secretaries of state, having communicated to the Queen the judgment pronounced against her majesty's claim; in order to preserve her just rights, and those of her successors, and to prevent the said minute being in aftertimes referred to as deriving validity from her majesty's supposed acquiescence in the determination therein expressed, the Queen feels it to be her bounden duty to enter her most deliberate and solemn protest against the said determination; and to affirm and maintain, that by the laws, usages, and customs of this realm, from time immemorial, the Queen Consort ought of right to be crowned at the same time with the king's majesty.

In support of this claim of right her majesty's law officers have proved before the said council, from the most ancient and authentic records, that Queen Consorts of this realm have, from time immemorial, participated in the ceremony of the coronation with their royal husbands. The few exceptions that occur demonstrate, from the peculiar circumstances in which they originated, that the right itself was never questioned, though the exercise of it was from necessity suspended, or from motives of policy declined.

Her majesty has been taught to believe that the most valuable laws of this country depend upon, and derive their authority from custom; that your majesty's royal prerogatives stand upon the same basis: the authority of ancient usage cannot therefore be rejected without shaking that foundation upon which the most important rights and institutions of the country depend. Your majesty's council, however, without controverting any of the

facts or reasons upon which the claim made on the part of her majesty has been supported, have expressed a judgment in opposition to the existence of such right. But the Queen can place no confidence in that judgment, when she recollects that the principal individuals by whom it has been pronounced were formerly her successful defenders; that their opinions have waved with their interest, and that they have since become the most active and powerful of her persecutors; still less can she confide in it, when her majesty calls to mind that the leading members of that council, when in the service of your royal father, reported in the most solemn form, that documents reflecting upon her majesty were satisfactorily disproved as to the most important parts, and that the remainder was undeserving of credit. Under this declared conviction, they strongly recommended to your majesty's royal father to bestow his favour upon the Queen, then Princess of Wales, though in opposition to your majesty's declared wishes. But when your majesty had assumed the kingly power, these same advisers, in another minute of council, recanted their former judgment, and referred to and adopted these very same documents as a justification of one of your majesty's harshest measures towards the Queen—the separation of her majesty from her affectionate and only child.

The Queen, like your majesty, descended from a long race of kings, was the daughter of a sovereign house connected by the ties of blood with the most illustrious families in Europe, and her not unequal alliance with your majesty was formed in full confidence that the faith of the king and the people was equally pledged to secure to her all those honours and rights which had been enjoyed by her royal predecessors.

In that alliance her majesty believed that she exchanged the protection of her family for that of a royal husband, and of a free and noble-minded nation. From your majesty the Queen has experienced only the bitter disappointment of every hope she had indulged. In the attachment of the people she has found that powerful and decided protection which has ever been her steady support and her unfailing consolation. Submission from

a subject to injuries of a private nature may be matter of expedience—from a wife it may be matter of necessity—but it never can be the duty of a Queen to acquiesce in the infringement of those rights which belong to her constitutional character.

The Queen does therefore repeat her most solemn and deliberate protest against the decision of the said council, considering it only as the sequel of that course of persecution under which her majesty has so long and so severely suffered, and which decision, if it is to furnish a precedent for future times, can have no other effect than to fortify oppression with the forms of law, and to give to injustice the sanction of authority. The protection of the subject, from the highest to the lowest, is not only the true but the only legitimate object of all power; and no act of power can be legitimate which is not founded on those principles of eternal justice, without which law is but the mask of tyranny, and power the instrument of despotism.

*Queen's House, July 17th.*

On the same evening, her majesty was attended, at Brandenburg-house, by all her legal advisers, to a very late hour, and the following day it was rumoured that they had succeeded in persuading her to abandon her intention of going to the House of Lords, having respectfully submitted that her majesty had done all that was necessary for the maintenance of her dignity by the protest which she had signed.

Her majesty's counsel were, however, deceived in their expectations, for on the morning of the coronation, about six o'clock, her approach was announced by loud acclamations without the barrier, and a kind of confusion and anxious agitation within. The burst of applause when her carriage appeared, completely overpowered the



ill-directed and irresolute efforts of a portion of the spectators whose interests or connexions prejudiced them against her person. Her carriage, drawn by six horses, passed the barrier without interruption, and proceeded by the King's-arms Tavern to nearly opposite the door of Westminster-hall. Her majesty there stopped for a few moments, apparently uncertain what course to take, as she had hitherto met with no obstruction, and yet had received nothing like an invitation to approach. At this moment the feelings of the spectators were wound up to a pitch of the most intense curiosity and most painful anxiety. The persons who immediately surrounded her carriage knew no bounds in expressing their enthusiastic attachment, while many of those in the galleries, apprehensive of the consequences of the experiment which she was making, could not restrain their fears and alarms. In the mean time, great confusion seemed to prevail among the officers and soldiers on and near the platform; the former giving orders and retracting them, and the latter running to their arms, uncertain whether they should salute her by presenting them or not. Astonishment, hurry, and doubt, seemed to agitate the whole multitude assembled, either to witness or compose the ensuing pageant.

More unequivocal symptoms of pain and horror were never observed than were manifested by people of the most opposite sentiments, when

they saw their Queen treated like an alien or outcast, by the servants, and at the festive hall, of her husband. Every heart thrilled with pity or indignation. These feelings were increased as she alighted from her carriage and proceeded on foot, leaning on the arm of Lord Hood, and accompanied by the faithful companions of her affliction, Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, to demand admission. The approach of the Queen towards the hall-door produced a considerable sensation within: there was an immediate rush to the door, which was closed amidst much confusion. The officer on guard was immediately summoned to the spot, and asked her majesty for her ticket. She replied that she had none, and as Queen of England needed none: he professed his sorrow, but said he must obey orders, and that his orders were to see that no person whatever should be admitted without a ticket. Her majesty then retired. They went to the door of the Duchy of Lancaster, behind the Champion's stable, and had the door shut in their faces. They then turned round, and leaving the royal carriage behind, proceeded to demand admission at another entrance. The same intense sensation of interest and the same applause mixed with partial disapprobation continued to follow her.

When she arrived nearly at the other extremity of the platform—that which was opposite to the Central Pavilion—her further progress was

arrested by a file of about a dozen soldiers, who were suddenly ordered to form across the platform. Her majesty then quitted it, and went straight to the House of Lords on foot, there to repeat the same request, and with the same success. In about twenty minutes she returned, and having ordered the top of her carriage to be taken down, rode off, amid the astonishment and acclamations of the people.

The following is an account of her majesty's reception at the door of Westminster-abbey.

Lord Hood having desired admission for her majesty, the door-keepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets.

Lord Hood.—“ I present you your Queen; surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket.”

Door-keeper.—“ Our orders are to admit no person without a peer's ticket.”

Lord Hood.—“ This is your Queen: she is entitled to admission without such a form.”

The Queen, smiling, but still exhibiting some agitation.—“ Yes, I am your Queen, will you admit me?”

Door-keeper.—“ My orders are specific, and I feel myself bound to obey them.”

The Queen laughed.

Lord Hood.—“ I have a ticket.”

Door-keeper.—“ Then, my lord, we will let you pass on producing it.”

Lord Hood now drew from his pocket a peer's ticket for one person; the original name in whose

favour it was drawn was erased, and the name of "Wellington" substituted.

Door-keeper.—"This will let one person pass, but no more."

Lord Hood.—"Will your majesty go in alone?"

Her majesty at first assented, but did not persevere.

Lord Hood.—"Am I to understand that you refuse her majesty admission?"

Door-keeper.—"We only act in conformity with our orders."

Her majesty again laughed.

Lord Hood.—"Then you refuse the Queen admission?"

A door-keeper of a superior order then came forward, and was asked by Lord Hood whether any preparations had been made for her majesty? He answered respectfully in the negative.

Lord Hood—"Will your majesty enter the Abbey, without your ladies?" Her majesty declined.

Lord Hood then said, that her majesty had better retire to her carriage, as it was clear no provision had been made for her accommodation. Her majesty assented.

Some persons within the porch of the Abbey, laughed, and uttered some expressions of disrespect.

Lord Hood.—"We expected to have met at least with the conduct of gentlemen. Such conduct is neither manly nor mannerly."

Her majesty then retired, leaning on Lord Hood's arm, and followed by Lady Hood and Lady Hamilton. She was preceded by constables back to the platform, over which she returned, entered her carriage, and was driven off amidst reiterated shouts of applause and disapprobation.

For some time previous to the coronation her majesty was undetermined as to the course she should pursue, not more for herself than the future queens of England. She had not lost a single opportunity of enforcing her legal rights, and restricting within the due compass and the forms of law, what appeared to her advisers and the nation an unwarrantable and capricious assumption of power, to the exclusion of right and justice.

It were much to be wished that her majesty had refrained from her attempt to gain admission to the ceremony of the coronation, for that event was undoubtedly the cause of her subsequent malady, and ultimately of her decease. Her early rising on that eventful morning—the agitation of her feeling mind—the noble indignation of insulted pride—the consciousness of all her unmerited sufferings—the dreadful completion of her adversaries' schemes to degrade and injure her in the eyes of the world—all flashed with an accumulating force upon her brain; and although her lofty spirit bore her outward form with dignity erect, the acuteness of her sufferings pierced her too sensitive and generous heart; the victim

of unnatural conspiracies felt an irresistible hysteric convulsion seize upon her frame, and with infuriate terror shake her agitated mental nerve. More than once, on that trying occasion, shuddering with cold, and overcome with mental agony, did she turn her eyes to heaven, and in the fulness of her grief ejaculated, "O God! is this fit treatment for an injured queen?" From that moment her wonted cheerfulness forsook her. Apathy and indifference to life seized possession of her mind. In vain the faithful friends around her endeavoured to dispel the settled gloom. The cheering ray of animation, the benignant fascination of her smile, which used to play upon her sprightly brow, were sunk for ever. Some transient gleams occasionally broke forth, acknowledgements of kindness and respect to those about her, but the weight of care, the load of insult and injury, had so pressed her down, that nought but Heaven could afford relief.

There was another circumstance which pressed heavily upon the spirits of her majesty, and indeed there was scarcely any thing during the last year of her trials and sufferings which gave her so much pain, as the circumstances of her refusal and subsequent acceptance of the grant from Parliament. She had determined in her own mind to accept it, as the first gracious act of the sovereign towards her; but she was otherwise advised, and she yielded to that advice.—But the severest blow to her feelings was the necessity which

forced her for once to submit to retract what she had said : firm of purpose, and always so decisive, to yield to her enemies inflicted a wound she never recovered ; and what gave more anguish still, was the thought that her enemies would in triumph exclaim, " She has yielded !" And for what ? for money which she cared not for, and which, at last, she only accepted to enable her to pay her debts ; for, at the moment she agreed to accept the money from Parliament, she had not ten pounds in the house to defray the common expenses of the day, and nothing at her banker's. She expected, that, on her agreeing to take the grant, government would have given her a house and some outfit for her establishment, when she would have paid all her debts, and have been quite satisfied as to pecuniary affairs, for she never valued money for her own personal gratification. Instead of this, they deducted upwards of 4000*l.* which they paid for a carriage, house-rent, &c.

A few days after the severe mortification which her majesty had experienced at the coronation, she signified her intention of visiting Drury-lane Theatre again, and her attendants looked forward to the appointed day with pleasure, in the hope that the amusement might tend to dispel her melancholy. Some hours before the time, however her majesty was attacked by excessive sickness at the stomach. Her ladies, who for many days had been anxiously contemplating her declining health, became alarmed, and strenuously prayed

her to relinquish her intention of visiting the theatre. Her majesty, with a manifestly forced cheerfulness, replied, "Why should I not go? I shall be well directly. My going has been announced in the bills and papers of the day: it may be that some persons will go there also because of it, and I never will disappoint even a single individual, whilst I have the power to avoid so doing." She then ordered a quantity of warm water, of which she drank copiously, with its usual effect; and she then went to the theatre as she had appointed. But her indisposition encreased even whilst she was there. The ride from the theatre appeared to decompose her much, and from that time the symptoms of disease gained ground hourly.

On the following morning she was much worse, and the first bulletin was issued as follows:

*Brandenburg-house, August 2, 1821,  
half-past ten o'clock a. m.*

Her Majesty has an obstruction of the bowels, attended with inflammation. The symptoms though mitigated, are not removed.

W. G. MATON, P. WARREN, H. HOLLAND.

In the course of this day her majesty was copiously bled, but the symptoms of her malady did not abate; indeed it appeared to have attained a force beyond the power of medicine to check. On the 3d the following bulletin was issued.

*Brandenburg-house, August 3, nine o'clock, a. m.*

The Queen has passed a tolerably quiet night; but the symptoms of her majesty's illness remain nearly the same as yesterday evening.

W. G. MATON, H. HOLLAND, P. WARREN



In the course of Friday the 3d, another physician, Dr. Ainslie, was called in. Her majesty was immersed, for about a quarter of an hour, in a warm bath, which moderated the pain, but in other respects was unavailing. Connected with the inflammation of the bowels was a nausea at the stomach, which repelled both food and medicine.

On the evening of the 3d, the following bulletin was issued.

*Brandenburg-house, August 3d.*

There is no improvement in her majesty's symptoms since the morning.

H. AINSLIE, P. WARREN,  
W. G. MATON, H. HOLLAND.

Towards the morning of Saturday the 4th, her majesty obtained some tranquil sleep, and in the course of the day was able to keep some water gruel on her stomach. She slept a great part of the day, which induced some observers to believe that an inward mortification had commenced. Her majesty's legal advisers, most of whom were on the point of setting off for their different circuits, attended at Brandenburg-house, to assist in the arrangement of her majesty's property; and it was understood that her will was then drawn up.

The following were the bulletins which were issued on the 4th.

*Brandenburg-house, Aug. 4th, nine o'clock, a. m.*

Her majesty has passed an indifferent night, but has had some tranquil sleep this morning. The general symptoms remain nearly the same as yesterday.

H. AINSLIE, W. G. MATON.  
P. WARREN, H. HOLLAND.

*Brandenburg-house, August 4th, twelve o'clock.*

Her majesty has been in a sound sleep since six o'clock this morning, and still remains so. All the symptoms are as before.

H. AINSLIE,      W. G. MATON,  
P. WARREN,      H. HOLLAND.

*Brandenburg-house, August 4th, ten o'clock, p. m.*

No material change has taken place in her majesty's symptoms since the morning.

H. AINSLIE,      P. WARREN,  
W. G. MATON,      H. HOLLAND.

When her majesty's illness first assumed a serious character, Dr. Holland requested her permission to send for another physician, observing, that whatever might be his own individual skill and attention, yet the public would necessarily expect, in the case of a Queen, that every possible aid should be had recourse to. Her majesty answered with a smile to the following effect:—"My dear Doctor, do what you please; if it will be any relief to your own mind to call in assistance, do so; but do not do it for my sake; I have no wish to live; I would rather die." Indeed, from the first moment that her majesty was assured of the very serious nature of her indisposition, she clung to the assurance with joy and gratitude, and listened with a reluctant ear to the hopes of recovery which her physicians and friends held out to her from time to time. "Why do you wish me to live?" she exclaimed on one occasion in the early part of her illness; "life to me can be nothing but a series of sorrows and per-

secutions ; I should be much happier in another world than in this."

It was observed that she desponded too much ; that public opinion was in her favour, and would make her amends for all her sufferings. Her majesty asked " What public opinion had done for her ? " It was answered, that it had defeated the late dreadful attempt to ruin her—the Bill of Pains and Penalties. Her reply was prompt and firm— " What am I the better for the failure of that bill ? If it had passed, I should have been degraded ; and what is my situation now ? I have indeed the empty title of Queen, but am I Queen of England ? Have I the privileges, the power, the dignities of a Queen of England ? No, no, I am a mere private person—I am not Queen of England."

It will be recollected, that, on Friday the 3d, the symptoms of her majesty's disorder had become very alarming, and the physicians had scarcely any hope of her recovery. She received the announcement of her danger with admirable calmness and composure ; and shortly afterwards proceeded to make her will. There was an air of cheerfulness about her after she had signed it, which induced one of her professional advisers, Mr. Brougham, to express a hope that she felt herself easier and better. Her majesty answered, " Oh, no, my dear Mr. Brougham, I know I shall die, and I do not at all regret it." Mr. Brougham said that he was of a different opinion, and

expected her majesty to recover ; but added, that the step she had just taken was perfectly proper in case of accident. Her majesty persisted in saying that she knew she was dying. In the course of the evening she took occasion to say—“ I do not know whether I shall suffer bodily pain in dying, but I can assure you I shall quit this world without regret ; I have no reason to be attached to life.”

Her majesty, in spite of some favourable symptoms which inspired the physicians with hope, still expressed her firm conviction that she should die. She seemed to feel pleasure in talking on the subject, and rejoiced in anticipating her release from trouble—her escape from the malice of her enemies. She said, that in this world, whether in England or abroad, the rancour of her persecutors would always beset her : and it was only in another world she could look for peace and justice. She expressed the deepest regret that she was so little able to reward those faithful servants who had stood by her in her difficulties, but hoped that government would not let them want. She declared herself warmly grateful—and hoped her gratitude would be made known to that generous portion of the people of England whose support of her had been most steady when most wanted, and who had never been frightened from her cause, either by the power or the calumny of her oppressors. “ England,” said her majesty, “ has certainly

been to me a land of sorrow and persecution, but I know how to love those faithful English who have always sympathised with my sorrow, and have done all in their power to defeat the malice of my persecutors." It was on this occasion that she observed that her enemies had been for years plotting and conspiring to destroy her : " At last," said she, " they *have destroyed me*, but I forgive them. I die in peace with all mankind.' Shortly after she sent for Mariette Brune, to whom she declared her perfect forgiveness of her sister's (Demont's) cruel falsehoods. All who had an opportunity of seeing her majesty were struck with the glorious trait in her character, that though her heart was evidently broken with the recollection of the deep injuries she had received, and though an indelibly strong image of the injustice of her enemies was always present to her mind, yet she never used a harsh or angry expression against any individual: she freely forgave them all, spoke of them in terms of pity, and even made allowances for their conduct on the score of the weakness and frailty of human nature.

On Sunday noon, after a delay of nearly two hours, occasioned by the expectation of some alteration of a decisive nature, the following bulletin was published :—

*Brandenburg-house, August 5th, nine o'clock, a. m.*

Her majesty has passed the last night better than the preceding one, but no material important amendment has taken place.

HENRY AINSLIE,      W. G. MATON,  
 PELHAM WARREN,    HENRY HOLLAND.

The next bulletin was issued under the same circumstances of delay, and from the same cause, at half-past eleven on Sunday night :—

*Brandenburg-house, August 5th, ten o'clock, p. m.*

Her majesty has passed a more tranquil day, and is not worse this evening.

HENRY AINSLIE,      W. G. MATON.  
 PELHAM WARREN,    HENRY HOLLAND.

It would be difficult to describe the anxiety which now pervaded Hammersmith and its vicinity on her majesty's account. The road from town was crowded with persons, extending their afternoon's walk in the direction of the Queen's residence, and questioning every coach or chaise that met them, in hope of favourable tidings. The gates of Brandenburg-house were surrounded the whole day by groups of respectable and well-dressed persons, dissatisfied with the unpromising statement of the bulletin, and repeating their hopes of a fortunate result. Some gentlemen on horseback rode half way up the avenue, but they invariably dismounted, and approached the house on foot; and the greater part of the carriage visitors declined (from considerate motives) suffering their equipages to enter the gate. The whole demeanour, in fact, of the very many persons who presented themselves, showed that their inquiries were inquiries not of form, but of deep feeling. A great number of persons, who had been waiting from ten o'clock for informa-

tion, dispersed upon seeing the document, with the warmest expression of their good wishes; many of them had come from a considerable distance. Scarcely an individual, even of the humblest class, in the neighbourhood of Hammer-smith would go to bed until the authorised statement was put forth.

Soon after eleven o'clock on Sunday night her majesty enjoyed some little repose; and throughout the night, though no crisis had taken place, she appeared to be a little more easy than she had been on any night since the commencement of her indisposition.

Towards the morning of Monday, her majesty again enjoyed some sleep, and it was the opinion of her physicians, that the violence of her complaint had somewhat abated. At an early hour, a considerable number of persons from Hammer-smith and its vicinity, and several from London, had assembled outside the lodge-gate, anxious to learn how her majesty had passed the night. At ten o'clock the following bulletin appeared:—

*Brandenburg-house, August 6th, nine o'clock, a. m.*

The Queen has had some relief during the night, and the state of her majesty is more favourable to-day.

H. AINSLIE, P. WARREN,  
W. G. MATON, H. HOLLAND.

The publication of the bulletin, as it afforded the hope of her majesty's ultimate recovery, was met with unfeigned satisfaction, and was  
circ se who attended to make

inquiries at the lodge. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the pleasing intelligence was joyfully greeted in Hammersmith and its neighbourhood, and ultimately in London.

Soon after the bulletin was issued, Drs. Maton, Warren, and Holland, left Brandenburg-house for London; Dr. Ainslie alone remaining in attendance on her majesty. This was the first occasion since the commencement of her majesty's illness, on which so many of her medical attendants were absent together, and the circumstance was looked upon as a proof at least that no immediate danger was apprehended. At half-past two o'clock Dr. Baillie arrived in a post-chaise and four. A messenger had been despatched for him on Sunday, who arrived at his country seat, Dunsborn, in Gloucestershire (about 90 miles distant from London) between two and three o'clock on Monday morning. The Doctor set off about five o'clock; and scarcely allowed himself a moment's rest, till he reached her majesty's house. Immediately on his arrival he had an interview with Dr. Ainslie, and soon after, was introduced to her majesty's chamber.

Her majesty had been bled with leeches, and found herself able to retain on her stomach a little arrow-root, and some medicine; she had also at her own request, been raised from her bed, and was seated in an arm-chair, when she was first seen by Dr. Baillie. From these and other circumstances, the medical gentlemen viewed the



case in a more favourable light than they had before done, but hesitated to pronounce the Queen out of danger; though, as was natural, the hopes of her domestics and others personally interested in her recovery, outstripped the caution of the physicians. Still her majesty was extremely weak and feeble from her long and acute sufferings, and the small portion of sustenance that she had been able to take; and when she spoke (which she did relative to the disposal of her property and other matters), she was very faint, and felt it necessary to be revived from time to time by a smelling bottle.

A short consultation took place between the two physicians, but its result did not then transpire. Dr. Ainslie soon after departed for London, leaving Dr. Baillie in attendance, who was joined in about an hour by Dr. Holland and Mr. Thompson, her majesty's apothecary. It was expected that a bulletin would be published by three o'clock, but no bulletin was issued. The verbal answer given to the numerous inquiries at the lodge and the house was, that no change had taken place in her majesty's complaint since morning.

Up to nine o'clock on Monday night, the accounts given at Brandenburg-house continued to be favourable. Her majesty enjoyed some sleep in the afternoon, from which she appeared much refreshed. In the course of the day she was able to take a small quantity of Indian arrow-root, two

or three times, and retained it on her stomach; she was also enabled to take her medicine in the afternoon, and this she likewise retained, which had not been the case hitherto.

From the commencement of her illness up to Monday morning, her majesty seemed to be of opinion that her disorder would prove fatal, but she on every occasion spoke of her expected dissolution with the most perfect resignation. On Monday, for the first time, she appeared to entertain some expectation of her recovery, but she still mentioned it as if in doubt. On one occasion she observed, that she felt very much relieved, and wished to be taken out of bed for a short time and placed sitting up in an arm chair. Her wish was complied with by her attendants, but it was not known at the time to any of her physicians. She did not, however, remain long out of bed, but she suffered no inconvenience from the exertion. Though the circumstance above mentioned would denote a favourable change in her majesty's complaint, yet her medical attendants were not without apprehensions of a relapse.

The inquiries respecting her majesty's health at Brandenburg-house, and at her majesty's town residence, throughout the whole of Monday, were very numerous.

At a little after nine o'clock the whole of the physicians had assembled, and after a consultation, they agreed upon the following bulletin.

which, though dated at ten o'clock, was not published till a quarter to eleven:—

*Brandenburg-house, Aug. 6, 1821.*

*Ten o'clock, p. m.*

Her Majesty's symptoms still continue favourable.

M. BAILLIE, H. AINSLIE, P. WARREN,  
H. HOLLAND, W. G. MATON.

Immediately after the bulletin was agreed to, Drs. Baillie, Maton, and Holland, quitted for London.

The anxiety to obtain intelligence regarding the state of her majesty's health was as intense on Monday as upon any day since the commencement of her unfortunate illness. The first bulletin that was published in the course of the day, gave unfeigned pleasure to the inhabitants of the metropolis, as it held out hopes to them that the crisis of her majesty's disorder was past. Still the public mind was not entirely relieved from the fears by which it had been oppressed, owing to the despondent tones of the bulletins which had been previously issued. Numbers of well-dressed and respectable people, whose occupations prevented them from making personal inquiries at Brandenburg-house, kept hourly calling at Cambridge-house and the Mansion-house, in order to obtain as early as possible the latest information respecting her majesty. In order to allay the intense anxiety under which all classes of people evidently laboured, the following placard was

posted on the doors of her majesty's residence in South Audley-street, at four o'clock in the afternoon of Monday :—

Her majesty is not worse, but continues in the same state as in the morning.

And shortly afterwards the following brief notice was exhibited at the Mansion-house :—

*Mansion-house, six o'clock, August 6.*

Extract of a note just received from Lord Hood, dated Brandenburg-house, three o'clock p. m., 6th August :—

“ There will be no bulletin until the evening, but the Queen is going on favourably.”

JOHN THOMAS THORP, Mayor. /

About nine o'clock in the evening of Monday, Cambridge-house was surrounded by a great number of respectable persons, who were waiting for the publication of the promised bulletin. The steps to the house were then crowded by well-dressed individuals, and some of them had been sitting there for two hours previously.

On Monday night her physicians seemed to consider her majesty out of all danger: she was informed of their opinion, but insisted they were mistaken, adding, she felt she was dying, and thought she should die before nine o'clock the next evening. It is not improbable that her majesty then felt the symptoms of incipient mortification. She sent for Mr. Wilde, who was in attendance, and added a codicil to her will relative to the place of her interment. Her first

wish was to be buried in the same grave with her beloved daughter, "But," added she, "I can have little hope that the government will grant this wish: I desire, therefore, to be buried in the same grave with my father and brother at Brunswick." When her majesty had signed this codicil, she began to converse at considerable length with Mr. Wilde; the physicians fearing that conversation might disturb her, wished to withdraw Mr. Wilde from the room, and that gentleman, from the same motive, was anxious to go, but her majesty begged him to stay. "I thank my physicians," she said, "for their kind intentions; they mean nothing but what is right; but they do not understand my character. They think that it agitates me to talk of death; they are mistaken; to me, who have little pleasure in the past, and no prospect of future tranquillity in this life, it is a pleasure to contemplate my approaching death, and why may I not speak what I feel?" All these observations were made with such sweetness of manner and such calmness of tone as to make an impression never to be effaced from the minds of those who were present.

Two circumstances which occurred at this period of her illness, strongly illustrate her conscious innocence, and the sweetness of her disposition. On the 4th instant, when her professional advisers were talking with her respecting her worldly affairs, one of them suggested the propriety of sending a messenger to Italy to seal

up her papers, to prevent their falling into the hands of her enemies. "And what if they do?" exclaimed her majesty, "I have no papers that they may not see: they can find nothing, because there is nothing, nor ever has been, to impeach my character." Her legal adviser said he was perfectly aware of that; but he could not but believe that her enemies might put there what they did not find. She replied, "that she had always defied their malice, and she defied it still."

The other anecdote shows how careful she, whom almost all parties and persons had in turn wounded, was of wounding the feelings of others. To amuse herself she was generally occupied two or three hours of a morning in committing to a diary various reflections on the events of the preceding day, and as she had a great relish for humour, she had (as she herself asserts) sometimes indulged herself with recording any peculiarity of character that forced itself on her notice. Her majesty said that the sole purpose of this journal was to while away a few hours of time that sometimes hung rather heavily, and that the purpose having been answered, it was now proper to destroy the book, especially as, though written with no such intention, it might cause pain where she should grieve to produce any thing but pleasure. She therefore ordered Mariette Brune to burn the diary, and the girl accordingly burnt it. Those who know the tact, the unerring sagacity,

with which her majesty appreciated the characters of people almost at first sight, with the singular point and spirit of her phraseology, will regret the destruction of this manuscript as a serious loss, but all will admire the delicacy of mind which dictated its destruction.

Another anecdote shewing the kindness of her disposition, and the complacency with which she regarded the termination of her life, then drawing to a close, may not be unacceptable. The Queen told the domestics that attended her on Sunday the 6th, that she wished Mr. Busch to come and measure her for her coffin; she asked again if he was come; the servants made excuses; she told them he must make the shell of cedar wood. Mr. Busch had done a little work for her in cedar wood (a bookcase), at Connaught-place, before she left England, and lately she gave him an order to make a writing-desk of cedar wood, an exact copy of one she had bought at the late Duke of Kent's sale. This was made, and when finished, sent to her house in South Audley-street; and she ordered the one bought at the Duke of Kent's to be sent to Mr. Alderman Wood, because she had heard that he had given an order to Mr. Denew, the auctioneer, to purchase the desk, as he was anxious to have it as a relic of the Duke of Kent, having seen him frequently writing at it. This happened about twelve months previous, and Mr. Alderman Wood had never thought of it, until she sent the desk. But this was her ma-

jesty's disposition: she was always planning to do some kind act.

The night between Monday and Tuesday was passed without sleep, owing, it is believed, to that restless anxiety which usually accompanies the process of mortification, her majesty's physicians were, however, not without hope of her recovery, but the bulletin on Tuesday morning first checked the sanguine expectations which had been formed, and hope gave place to no inconsiderable share of despondency, when it was learnt that the favourable symptoms of the preceding night had not increased. The bulletin was published about half-past ten: it was as follows:—

*Brandenburg-house, August 7th, ten o'clock, a. m.*

The Queen has passed the night without sleep: her majesty's symptoms are no worse than yesterday.

M. BAILLIE, P. WARREN, H. AINSLIE.  
W. G. MATON, H. HOLLAND.

Shortly after the publication of this bulletin, unfavourable symptoms began to manifest themselves, and her majesty endured considerable pain. That undaunted resolution, however, which had conducted her in safety over half the surface of the habitable globe, did not forsake her at this trying period; and if she suffered severely, she suffered without a murmur. Opiates were administered, and for some time they had a consoling effect; but at two, increased inflammation was visible to every one, and the attendance of the



physicians was desired with the utmost speed. Drs. Baillie, Maton, and Holland first arrived; and under their direction, at half-past four o'clock, the following bulletin was put forth:—

*Brandenburg-house, August 7th, four o'clock, p. m.*

In the course of the morning her majesty has suddenly become much worse.

M. BAILLIE, W. G. MATON, H. HOLLAND.

Dr. Ainslie and Dr. Warren arrived shortly after, and a very long consultation took place.

Between four and five Mr. Wilde was summoned to her majesty's chamber. At that time a marked alteration—an alteration which could scarcely be mistaken—had taken place in her appearance. The illustrious sufferer herself seemed perfectly aware of the change; and, amid the tears of all who surrounded her, spoke with calmness and with resignation of her approaching dissolution. She thanked her friends for the care they had bestowed upon her; lamented her inability to reward their kindness as it deserved, and expressed the most perfect conviction that in a few hours she should cease to need their attention. She commended her soul with humility, but with confidence to her Creator, and trusted to meet that justice in another world, which had been denied to her in this.

A more striking proof of the noble spirit which still actuated the mind of her majesty, even on the threshold of death, cannot be mentioned, than

when, on the Friday previous to her dissolution, a delicate intimation was given her on the propriety of making her will, she seemed to hail with joy a hint which is usually received with terror : with her usual quickness she caught up the idea before it was half expressed, and said, " I understand you perfectly ; I am quite ready—send for my lawyers." She spent two or three hours in calmly and deliberately giving instructions for the will, and after signing it with a firm and unhesitating hand, exclaimed, with a cheerful smile, " There, now, I am ready to die."

As some doubt has been expressed of the extent of her majesty's religious impressions, it is but right it should be generally known, that almost immediately after the dangerous tendency of her illness was announced to her, she expressed a wish to receive the Holy Sacrament ; and for this purpose the Rev. Mr. Attwood, of Hammer-smith, was summoned on Sunday morning to Brandenburg-house ; but when he arrived, her majesty was more unwell than usual, and the ceremony was obliged to be postponed. In the night of Monday she again expressed to one of her medical attendants her wish and determination to partake of the Holy Communion in the course of the following day ; but the fatal change in her majesty's disorder took place before her intentions could be completed. It was not necessary, however, that her majesty should partake of this holy rite, to evince to the world her true sense of

religion. She, who could for more than four days, with calmness, with fortitude, with the most perfect resignation, contemplate the sure but gradual approach of death, could not by a compliance with any external form, have more fully testified her perfect and unshaken reliance on the mercy and justice of an all-wise Providence.

The dangerous state of her majesty having been made known, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Hobhouse, the Hon. D. Kinnaird, and many other personal friends of her majesty, came with breathless haste. Hammersmith was traversed by gentlemen on horseback, or servants sent out on the same errand. Among the latter, were messengers from their royal highnesses the Duchess of Kent and the Duke of Sussex. The gates of Brandenburg-house were also besieged by anxious inquiries, whose earnest and respectful demeanour sufficiently evinced their attachment to the royal sufferer.

About four o'clock an access of fever came on, which operating on a frame already almost exhausted, produced for a short time a greater exultation of spirits than she had yet manifested: during this period she expressed herself with more vehemence of manner, but still with the same forbearance of language, touching the cruel conspiracies of her inveterate foes; but the fever soon subsided, and she recovered her usual gentle tone, her usual calm and firm demeanour; she was again all resignation to the will of God.





THE QUEEN'S LAST MOMENTS.

*London: Published by Wm. Kelly at Paternoster Row Oct 3 1821.*

A drowsiness then came on, which lasted till nearly eight o'clock ; when she suddenly awoke, and observing by her bed-side Dr. Holland, who, during her illness, had often expressed a hope of her recovery, said with a smile and accent of the greatest sweetness:—" Well, my dear doctor, what do you think now ?"

A few hours, before her death, she observed to a faithful female attendant—" The doctors do not understand my malady ; it is here, (laying her hand upon her heart) but I will be silent ; my lips will never make it known."

About eight in the evening, the physicians, after having spent considerable time in consultation, gave directions to have their horses taken out, and declared their intention of remaining till some decided alteration was apparent in her majesty's complaint.

Every symptom of approaching dissolution from this time increased ; the continued existence of spasmodic affection, and various other circumstances, convinced her attendants that she could not long exist. Just before eight, she sunk for a short time into a dose ; soon after the eye became fixed, the muscle grew rigid, and a stupor ensued, from which her majesty never awoke. At twenty-five minutes past ten o'clock, (after an entire absence of sense and faculty of more than two hours) nature gave up the contest, and, almost without a struggle, the Consort of George IV., and the reigning Queen of England, expired.

The shock through the household was violent, almost to stupefaction. About five minutes afterwards, a Moorish domestic of her majesty, burst, half frantic into the vestibule, and at the same instant a loud and lengthened shriek from the female servants, as they rushed towards each other from their several apartments, rendered all explanation unnecessary to the horror-struck spectators. The cry of alarm was succeeded by a long and fearful pause. It was a pause of death-like silence—of a silence which every one dreaded to break. Even to the fatal moment, spite of evidence to the contrary, all had hoped, and many had trusted, that she, their friend and mistress, would recover. The sobs of the women were loud and unrestrained; the men covered their faces with their hands, and wept. It was long before any thing like regularity could be restored. For some time all distinctions of rank appeared to be at an end; in this instance the most eminent individuals present were seen walking about the house, forgetting to claim, and scarcely receiving any thing like ready attention from their own servants. At length the necessity of making certain arrangements produced the restoration (in some degree) of order.

At half-past eleven o'clock the following bulletin was issued:—

*Brandenburg-house, August 7th.*

Her majesty departed this life at twenty-five minutes past ten o'clock.

M. BAILLIE, H. AINSLIE, W. G. MATON,  
P. WARREN, H. HOLLAND.

The persons present at the moment of her majesty's death were Lord and Lady Hood, and Lady Hamilton; Alderman Wood, and his son, the Rev. Mr. John Wood; Dr. Baillie, Dr. Ainslie, Dr. Maton, Dr. Warren, and Dr. Holland; Mr. Wilde, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Austin.

Soon after the bulletin was delivered, all the medical gentlemen, except Dr. Holland, departed. Dr. Holland remained all night at Brandenburg-house, as did also Lady Anne Hamilton. Numerous expresses were sent off in different directions.

The sensation produced in the vicinity of her majesty's residence was deep beyond description. At midnight, lights were moving in the windows of every house in the village of Hammersmith; the streets were filled by persons running to and fro—whither or why, they scarcely knew; and circles collected round the door of every dwelling discussed the dreadful event of the night with interest painfully acute. "The Queen is gone!" was the observation with which each met his fellow. "Peace be to her soul!" was the fervent prayer of thousands.

It was about twelve at night when the melancholy intelligence was received at Cambridge-house. A crowd, amounting to about two hundred well-dressed persons, men and women, were then waiting for the arrival of the bulletin, some of them in front of the house of Alderman Wood, and the rest opposite Cambridge-house. As the bearer of the bulletin drove up to the door



we shall give a slight analysis of her character—a character wilfully misunderstood by many, and rightly appreciated but by few.

The name of Queen Caroline of England will make a conspicuous figure in history, for she was a princess whose singular lot it was to have led a life of comparative unhappiness and degradation in the midst of affluence and artificial rank, and to have been the victim of calumny and persecution in a country distinguished for the rigid administration of law and justice. This illustrious female gave to the world a striking example of the infinite superiority, which in the common intercourse of life, a cold and calculating prudence must have over an open-hearted and thoughtless benevolence. Had this illustrious woman been brought up from her infancy under the superintendence of his late Majesty George III., and under the tuition of governors and governesses selected by him; had she received that strict English education, with all its punctilious formalities and rigorous precepts, which he would have enjoined by his authority and example; had she been trained in those sombre retiring delicacies, and that stateliness of exterior deportment, which characterize the higher order of females of this country, and for which the court of the Consort of George III. was so remarkably and proverbially conspicuous; she might with her natural flow of spirits, and amiable dispositions, have captivated the heart and retained the affections of an

persecutions and death of a Queen is at length brought to its awful close; and thousands—we may say millions—of eyes will be suffused in tears, when they read of the death of Caroline of Brunswick. The greatest, perhaps, the best woman of her day, sunk by what may be called a premature death; her illustrious daughter—the only object, in truth, for which her mother wished to live—died three years and nine months before her; and, in their persons, a branch the most illustrious of the reigning House of England, and the closest to the royal stem, which, under happier auspices and more kindly treatment, might have given future Edwards and Henries, and Elizabeths, to the country, is for ever and for ever cut off. How the surviving members of the royal family may feel on this portentous occurrence, we know not; but the nation, which, during the sufferings of the Queen, evinced its loyalty to her person, and its admiration of her character, feels now widowed by her decease; and politicians must perceive with some anxiety, that the destinies of the monarchy are now transferred to, and wound up with, the life of an infant girl. Sound be her frame, and lengthened be her days! But the nation has once already too fondly indulged hopes resting on such a basis, to repose implicit confidence in that which a sorrowful experience, as well as reason, hath taught it to be so frail.

The Queen;—we will not say that she was in

cence was proclaimed to the world, declared that she had sunk from the dignity of her rank by unbecoming levities—and this was merely because she could not change the free, the sprightly, and familiar habits of Germany, for those of England. This operated like a degree of civil excommunication against her, for it shut her out from the court, and from the elevated society she was entitled to move in. It also led to her subsequent departure from England, and all those heart-breaking events that have occurred within the last fifteen months. Her too affable and familiar manners were the toils in which her reputation became entangled, and there were persons always ready to spread them out, and make them instrumental to her ruin. In all other respects, we look upon the late Queen Caroline as one who was fit to rank with the noblest, with the most estimable and amiable of the human race ; her heart was open, generous, and sincere—her mind was elevated and princely—even the very freedoms which she extended to her inferiors might be traced to a magnanimous simplicity of character, which often raises people above the petty, the selfish, and jealous punctilios of rank ; her fortitude was such as one might expect to find in a descendant of heroes. In short, she was deficient only in one of the cardinal virtues, and that was PRUDENCE. In all the others, her whole life, and her dying words prove her to have been pre-eminent. But the tragedy of the

Treason hath done its worst:

Life's fitful fever ended, she sleeps well.

Malice domestic—nothing—can touch her further.

Her majesty's enemies were appalled at the unexpected event. They looked at each other with inquiring faces—"We did not do it?" No; the last stroke was a merciful dispensation, and was therefore none of yours. Whatever comfort you may derive from this reflection, seize it with avidity, and enjoy the meagre feast. But time wears away apace; and your day of account draws near. Then, then, when the charge of hastening the Queen's end shall be brought against you by that Being who knows "whereof we are made," and perceives by what secret operations of the mind the body is gradually worn down, or abruptly shattered into its original dust;—then urge the extenuating plea, "Thou canst not say we did it." And there may that plea avail! But as the first step to repentance here, is the knowledge of the offence; we must for your future good inform you, that however undaunted was the courage of her majesty, yet that the cruelty of her enemies, the ingratitude of her friends, and the general baseness of courtiers, did at times most deeply prey upon her spirits, and imparting incessant shocks to a frame, which however well composed, was still but feminine, did there occasion symptoms and affections which were likely to lead to this result. We will even add, that all these circumstances taken together, engendered

in her mind at last so great a distrust of professions of service, and so strong a suspicion of human nature in general, as must have tended to shorten life by rendering it undesirable.

Come then, my countrymen, and weave the cypress crown to deck the monumental pile. In lieu of consecrated oil and courtly emblazonment, let tributary tears of fond devotion and a people's love bedew her funeral urn. No sculptured monument, or prayers episcopal, need she to speak her worth. A nation's grief, her passport to high heaven, and the best record for futurity. The lying babe, as yet unknown to thought, shall, when the mind expands to hear the pitying tale of all her woes, drop tears of anguish, while the proud hearts, swelling with indignation at the bare remembrance of her wrongs, will conjure up through each succeeding age, a recollective monument, more proudly great than earthly skill could raise, ENGRAFTED ON THE MEMORY OF A PEOPLE'S LOVE.

We must now return to a description of the funeral ceremonies, the consequences of which will be long remembered in this country, and which, in a political point of view, will have a decided influence upon the welfare of the country.

We will, however, in the first place, take a slight glance at the house of mourning, and how silent and sad was the scene. There was such a profound repose in every thing that the observer felt, it was the "sabbath of the dead."

What a different scene did this neighbourhood present a few short months ago! Then all the roads were filled—thousands and tens of thousands of gaily-dressed persons in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, all wearing the white cockades, and pressing forward to pay their congratulations at the feet of her majesty—whilst innumerable bands of music, the ringing of bells, and the thunder of cannon, were heard on every side. Now all was quiet as the grave—the only vestige of all the pageantry was the British standard, still floating on the humble tower of the church at Hammersmith; and even that was now mournfully lowered beneath a long streamer of black crape.

On the night of her majesty's decease, Lady Anne Hamilton sat up with the corpse of her royal mistress; and subsequently her ladyship and Lady Hood performed that mournful ceremony alternately. The room in which her majesty expired, and in which the corpse was deposited, was on the ground floor, at the eastern corner of the mansion, fronting to the lawn. Among other directions relative to her funeral, her majesty expressed a wish to be buried in a night-dress, &c. of her own, instead of the usual grave clothes. The service of dressing was performed by Mariette Brune (sister to the celebrated Demont) exactly as her majesty had pointed out, in a richly frilled long night-dress and cap, with white kid gloves on the hands.

Immediately after the death of her majesty, Lord Hood despatched a courier with a letter to the Earl of Liverpool, announcing the event, and requesting to know whether his majesty's ministers were prepared to take any part in the necessary arrangements consequent upon her demise. The noble earl was at his seat, Combe-wood, and the courier did not arrive there till after twelve o'clock. His lordship had then retired to rest; but he returned a verbal answer to Lord Hood's letter, acknowledging its receipt, and stating that he would be in town, at Fife-house, early in the morning, and ready to confer with any of the gentlemen from Brandenburg-house on the subject. Accordingly Dr. Lushington and Mr. Wilde had an interview with his lordship, at Fife-house, between twelve and one o'clock on Wednesday morning, and in consequence Messrs. Bailey and Saunders, of Mount-street, the king's upholsterers, received instructions to proceed to Brandenburg-house, and make the necessary preparations in their department, for the funeral. They arrived in the afternoon, accompanied by one of the clerks from the Lord Chamberlain's office, and remained there several hours.

It will be necessary, in this place, to make particular mention of her majesty's will, as many of the circumstances which afterwards occurred arose from the wording of it, and which were greedily seized upon by certain individuals, with that zeal and avidity which had heretofore dis-

tinguished their conduct in every particular, which had a reference to the wishes or the comfort of her majesty. In some instances, and many there are, which the people of England will long remember, in which her majesty, whilst living, had only to express a desire that such and such a request should be granted, to be certain to meet with a decided refusal, and also that that same refusal should be accompanied with every mark of contempt and disdain; but her majesty no sooner makes a request in her dying hour, than the consciences of those, to whom the task devolved of fulfilling it, felt an unusual degree of alarm, and their whole sagacity was immediately set in motion to discover in what manner they could possibly perform the last injunctions of that individual, on whom, whilst she lived, they had heaped every species of obloquy and insult. It must, however, be mentioned, that the very last requests of this truly unfortunate woman coincided exactly with the wishes of her enemies; they took advantage of it, and they profited by it, to the full extent of their power. It will, be necessary, however, to give the will in full, in order to discover the allusion of the foregoing sentence; but little did her majesty suspect that the directions expressed in the second codicil of her will, and which are printed in italics, would have given rise to scenes which will be long remembered as a positive disgrace to the country. We shall have occasion to enlarge on this subject



in a future part of the history, but in the mean time we insert the Will.

This is the last WILL and TESTAMENT of me, CAROLINE, Queen-Consort of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland :—

I revoke all former wills.

I constitute and appoint Stephen Lushington, Doctor of Laws, and Thomas Wilde, Esq., Barrister at Law, trustees and executors of this my will.

In execution of all powers given me by the will of my late mother, Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick-Lunenburg, I appoint, limit, give, devise, and bequeath to my said trustees all my right, title, and interest under the said will, and also all the rest of my property, real and personal, debts and effects, of whatsoever nature or kind soever, and wheresoever situate, upon trust to receive and collect the same ; and, when collected, convert into money, and invest it at their discretion in the funds of the united kingdom, or otherwise ; and, upon farther trust, to pay the principal of the whole of the said trust property to William Austin, who has been long under my protection, on his attaining the age of 21 years ; and, in the mean time, to pay the interest and proceeds of the same, or so much thereof as to them may seem meet, towards the maintenance and education of the same William Austin ; And I do declare that my said trustees and executors shall not be chargeable in respect of the default of each other, or of any agent employed by them or either of them, but only for their own respective receipts, acts, and wilful defaults. I also give and bequeath to my said executors, to be disposed of according to their will and pleasure, all and every my documents, manuscripts, papers, writings, and memoranda, wheresoever being at the time of my death.

CAROLINE R.

Signed, sealed, and published this third day of August, in the year 1821, at Brandenburg-house, in the presence of

H. BROUGHAM, T. DENMAN,  
H. HOLLAND, M.D. HOOD.

This is a Codicil to my Will, dated this 3d day of August:—

I give all my clothes here and in Italy to Mariette Brune. I direct that a particular box, by me described, be sealed with my seal, and delivered to Mr. Obichini, of Colman-street, merchant: and I acknowledge that I owe him 4,300*l.* I wish that government would pay the 15,000*l.* the price of my house in South Audley-street. I desire to be buried in Brunswick. I leave my coach to Stephen Lushington, my executor; my landaulet to John Hieronymus.

CAROLINE R.

Witnesses, HOOD, H. BROUGHAM,

T. DENMAN, H. HOLLAND, M. D.

This is a Codicil to my last Will:—

I give to John Hieronymus and Mariette Brune all my bed and table linen, which has already been used. I give to Louis Bischi, the sum of 1,000*l.*, and an annuity of 150*l.* per annum, payable half-yearly. I give the large picture of myself and late daughter to the Cardinal Albano. The half length picture of myself to Lady Anne Hamilton. I give the picture of myself, which is a copy of that given to the City of London, to my executor Stephen Lushington. There are two pictures remaining, of which I bequeath to the Marquis Antaldi, that which he shall choose; and the remaining one to William Austin. I give to the Viscount and Viscountess Hood, 500*l.* each. I have already given to John Hieronymus one carriage; I also give him the other open carriage. I declare that my interest under my mother's will is given to William Austin, as a specific legacy. *I desire and direct that my body be not opened, and that three days after my death it be carried to Brunswick for interment; and that the inscription on my coffin be, "Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England."*

CAROLINE R.

Witness, H. HOLLAND, M. D. Aug. 5, 1821.

A Codicil to my last Will:—

I give and bequeath to William Austin, all my plate and household furniture at Brandenburg-house, and also all unused linen

"I direct my executors to make application to his majesty's government to pay to them such sum of money as at the time of my decease I may have paid, or which they may be called upon to pay, for the purchase of my house in South Audley-street; and I give and bequeath — sum of money, as my said executors shall procure and obtain in that respect, unto them my said executors, in trust for William Austin, according to the provisions of my will: such sum to be considered a specific legacy. And in case the government shall refuse to repay such sum, I direct my executors to sell my interest in the said house, and also the furniture and things therein. And I give and direct the proceeds thereof to be paid and applied to and for the use of the said William Austin in like manner, as a specific legacy; but in case the Government shall repay the purchase-money of the said house, in that case, the proceeds which may be realized by the sale are to fall into the general residue of my estate.

CAROLINE R.

Witness, H. U. THOMSON. August 7, 1821.

The respectful tribute that was paid by the citizens of London to the memory of their departed Queen, was highly creditable to their character. In Fleet-street, the Strand, Piccadilly, Pall-mall, and the intersecting streets, there was not a single shop the windows of which were not partially closed; many were shut up altogether; and at the east end of the town the expression was equally decided, and many persons already appeared in black. These open demonstrations of regret broadly gave the lie to those who had insulted the Queen, and who would, if they could, misrepresent the state of public opinion; for the rest, it is not pomp of outward show, "nor customary suits of solemn black," that can denote the feelings of the British people truly.

In the metropolis, an involuntary feeling of surprise was excited at seeing the houses of several of the most distinguished personages, who had taken a decided part against her majesty during her lifetime, exhibit an appearance of sorrow on her departure for "another and a better world!" At the mansion of the Lord Chancellor, in particular, the shutters in the lower part of the house were quite closed, and in the upper part the blinds were drawn. At Carlton-house, the shutters in front were all closed. Most of the houses in St. James's-square, including the late residence of her majesty, were also in the same state; and similar marks of respect were observable, in a greater degree, perhaps, than might have been expected, in the other fashionable squares and streets. Somerset-house, and the other public offices were partially closed, but the business proceeded as usual.

Orders were issued for the closing of the theatres, on Wednesday evening the 8th, and also on the night of the funeral.

At noon on Wednesday, there were not, in the long line of way between Blackfriar's-bridge and the Elephant and Castle, a dozen shopkeepers who did not partially close the fronts of their dwellings. The few tradesmen who stood as exceptions were chiefly of the Society of Friends, whose religious tenets forbid them either to make merry or weep after the things of this world. Throughout the Lambeth-road, at Bermondsey,

and at Camberwell, the same demonstrations of sorrow appeared. In many parishes the bells tolled during the whole morning.

The inhabitants of Hammersmith, who have always been conspicuous for their attachment to their persecuted Queen, were most anxious to pay the last public tribute to her memory.

A requisition was accordingly signed by many of the most respectable individuals in the neighbourhood, requesting the churchwarden, (Mr. J. Gomme) to call a meeting to consider the best means of evincing their respect for her memory.

A circular was sent to the gentlemen who composed the committee for arranging her majesty's escort from Hammersmith to London on the day of her visit to St. Paul's—and another circular was despatched to the gentlemen who formed the procession on that occasion; requesting their attendance at Freemason's-tavern on the following Saturday evening.

A most numerous and respectable meeting assembled accordingly; when, after an able and energetic speech from J. Hume, Esq. who was called to the chair, it was unanimously resolved, "that a committee should be appointed to make the necessary arrangements to pay the last marks of respect, for which they would hold themselves in readiness to assemble, to accompany the body as far out of London as might be agreed upon, in carriages or on horseback." Each individual to

have on black scarfs, crape, or such decent mourning as was customary on such occasions

On Thursday evening, between nine and ten o'clock, the shell of cedar-wood and the leaden coffin arrived at Brandenburg-house in a hearse and four, followed by two mourning coaches, filled with the undertakers' assistants. The shell was lined with white satin, padded with a mattress of the same delicate materials, and the body was immediately placed within it by Mariette Brune, assisted by some of the other female attendants. The Ladies Hamilton and Hood afterwards strewed the corpse with flowers and aromatic herbs, and then the undertakers' men placed the whole within the leaden coffin; but the cover was left open by order of the executors till Friday evening. Accordingly on that day Mr. Holroyd, attended by several of his workmen, repaired to Brandenburg-house, by order of the Board of Works, for the purpose of soldering down the leaden coffin in which the cedar shell containing the royal corpse was placed. The melancholy task was performed in the presence of Mr. Alderman Wood and some of her majesty's upper domestics, who thus took their last view of their beloved mistress. The body had not undergone so great a change as might have been expected from the nature of her majesty's disorder. The features still bore a considerable resemblance to the placid yet dignified look for which in life they were remarkable. After the body was thus

for ever shut from human eye, a black pall was thrown over the coffin; it was then removed into the dining-hall, which was hung with black, as also the passages between that and the door, at the entrance from Hammersmith. It was, however, not intended that the corpse should be laid in state, as being contrary to the express wishes of her majesty on this point.

On the same day an interview took place at the Home Department Office, between Sir G. Nayler, of the Herald's College, and Mr. Hobhouse, the Under Secretary of State, for the purpose of making some necessary preparations, and for issuing orders for regulating the procession on the removal of her majesty's body from town to Harwich. Mr. Thomas, of the Lord Chamberlain's office, and Mr. Bailey, of the house of Bailey and Sanders, his majesty's upholsterers, &c., subsequently had an interview with Mr. Hobhouse, and it was determined to proceed with the funeral preparations only as far as would be requisite, until his majesty should decide that her majesty's remains should be interred either at Windsor or Brunswick.

As it was evident that a wish existed in a particular quarter to hurry the queen's funeral as much as possible, partly that it might not interfere with the rejoicings and the merriment occasioned by his majesty's visit to Ireland, and partly perhaps to give the people of England no time to prepare any mark of respect to the illu-

trious deceased, it became necessary to apply to the proper authorities on the part of those who were to attend the funeral of her majesty, stating the impossibility of their being properly prepared for the funeral by the day appointed by government. On this subject the following correspondence took place between Lady Hood and Lord Liverpool:

*Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Hood to Mr. Hobhouse.*

*Brandenburg-house, Saturday night, Aug. 11.*

The ladies in attendance upon her majesty the Queen feel it incumbent on them to state to Mr. Hobhouse, that having only received intimation this day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, of the necessary preparations to make for the mourning, they find it impossible to complete the dresses requisite before Tuesday night.

Unless the time until Wednesday morning is allowed for the removal of her late majesty's remains, Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Hood will not have it in their power to attend the funeral.

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*Mr. Hobhouse to Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Hood.*

*Grosvenor-place, Aug. 12, half-past eight, p. m.*

Mr. Hobhouse has to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed to him last night by Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Hood, from whence he is surprised to learn that the intention of moving the late Queen's remains, as nearly as possible in conformity with the wish expressed in her majesty's will, should have been so recently communicated to their ladyships: the anxiety of the King's servants to carry that wish into effect having been expressed to Dr. Lushington and Mr. Wilde on Wednesday, and at every subsequent interview, and those gentlemen having yesterday stated that there would be no obstacle to the removal of the corpse on Tuesday morning. Mr. Hob-



house will lose no time in despatching their ladyships' note to Lord Liverpool, and will communicate his lordship's answer at the earliest moment.

*Mr. Hobhouse to Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Hood.*

*Whitehall, August 12th, four o'clock, p. m.*

Mr. Hobhouse presents his compliments to Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Hood, and is directed by Lord Liverpool to apprise their ladyships, that the order for the removal of her majesty's remains on Tuesday is irrevocable. Their ladyships must be aware, that in cases of this nature, it is extremely frequent for persons who are to attend the interment to follow after the procession has proceeded far on its route; and it is presumed, that if their ladyships should unfortunately not be entirely prepared on Tuesday morning, there can be no objection to this course being adopted on the present occasion.

*Lady Hood to the Earl of Liverpool.*

*Brandenburg-house, August 12th, 1821.*

MY LORD,—Though I have not the honour of your lordship's acquaintance, I cannot resist the impulse I feel to address you, not as a minister of this country, but I wish to speak to your heart; and I am not without the hope of inspiring you with sympathy on this most interesting and awful subject. I have often, my lord, heard you highly spoken of. Some time ago I was acquainted with a lady who was either nearly allied to you, or the late Lady Liverpool. Her sentiments of your good principles inspire me with hope that you will act up to that excellent monitor within every one's breast—"To do as they would be done by." Why, my lord, is her majesty's funeral thus indecently hurried? Mr. Hobhouse replied to a note written by Lady Anne Hamilton and myself—"Because it was the Queen's request in her will." This is, I believe, the first and only request of her majesty's that ever has been complied with. And allow me, my lord, to put another question to you—Why is there to be a guard of honour appointed to attend her funeral?

which, honour was never given to her during her life? If such is persisted in, I foresee much mischief, and I fear bloodshed. The people have ever been her majesty's only friends; suffer them to pay their last tribute of affection to their beloved and injured Queen, without being interrupted by the military. I have been in the habit of attending her majesty for the last five months through immense crowds, and not a single accident has ever occurred. Why, my lord, is the corpse to be carried out of the direct road to disappoint the people? For Heaven's sake revoke this sentence; the evil of it exceeds all calculation. I have, my lord, been the companion of the Queen for the last five months; my previous knowledge of her good and estimable qualities alone induced me to accept this situation, and from seeing her deserted by all her former associates and friends. And I can with truth assure you, that not even her bitterest enemy could censure her majesty's conduct; and her death-bed, my lord—that awful moment to which we are all approaching—is an example to all living. She died in peace, I do believe, with all the world; and during her illness frequently said:—*“Je ne sais si en mourant j'aurai à souffrir des douleurs phisiques, mais je puis vous assurer que je quitterai la vie sans regrets;”* and she desired her female attendant, Brunette, to assure her sister De Mont that she had forgiven her. I have one more appeal to make to your lordship; and first I will ask you why the funeral of the Queen of England should be so much more hurried than that for your lordship's late wife; that event proves your lordship's opinion on the subject; the Queen will not have been dead a week till after ten o'clock next Tuesday night; therefore, I trust your heart will dictate the same degree of outward respect, if not love, for your Queen. And now, my lord, I have only to say, that I have been surprised at the interruption to the tranquillity of this house by a show of mourning—the having a part of this house hung with black, which cannot be completed before Monday night, if so soon, and the proceeding has only been interrupted this day (Sunday) during the time her majesty's domestic chaplain performed the church service. I trust, my lord, you will not order her majesty's funeral before

Wednesday or Thursday next. I will only add, my lord, that every word of this letter is dictated by myself, and that I have set down nought in malice, for my late beloved mistress, the Queen, set me a better example; but my conscience will not allow me to continue silent, and I entreat that your lordship will grant all the requests contained in this letter; and in so doing, be assured I shall ever feel the highest veneration and esteem, permit me to add affection, for your lordship, and believe me, my lord, your humble servant,

JANE HOOD.

*The Earl of Liverpool to Lady Hood.*

*Combe Wood, August 12th.*

MADAM,—I have this moment had the honour of receiving your ladyship's letter, and I think it right to observe in answer to it, that when her late majesty's executors communicated to me copies of her last will, on Wednesday last, by which it appeared that her majesty desired that three days after her death her body should be sent to Brunswick for interment, I felt it to be my duty to give directions, in the king's absence, that her majesty's intentions in this respect might be carried into effect with as little delay as possible; and I lost no time in laying before the king the directions which had been issued for this purpose. I have since received his majesty's commands to continue to act in conformity to the orders first given. I had directed that the funeral should proceed from Brandenburg-house to-morrow morning; but upon a representation which I received from Dr. Lushington yesterday, it was agreed to put off the departure till Tuesday, and I feel I should be now acting in direct contradiction to the king's commands, as well as contrary to the intention of her late majesty, if I was a party to any further delay. I am sorry it is not in my power to return a more satisfactory answer to your ladyship's letter; but I have been ready from the beginning to communicate with her majesty's executors on the arrangements necessary to be made on this melancholy occasion; and it has been the anxious desire of the king and his govern-

ment that every thing should be conducted in the most becoming, orderly, and decent manner.

I have the honour to be, Madam, your ladyship's obedient humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

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*Viscountess Hood to the Earl of Liverpool.*

*Brandenburg-house, Sunday Evening,*

*August 12, 1821.*

MY LORD,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter, and though certainly not according with my wishes, yet please to accept my thanks for the promptness of your reply. But, my lord, there is a material part of my letter which you have not answered (my question).—Why is a guard of honour appointed to attend her majesty's funeral? I can venture to pronounce, if there are no soldiers, there will not be any disposition to tumult; therefore I do most earnestly pray your lordship to give up the idea of her majesty's remains having any other guard than that of the people. They were to her majesty, during her life, her most welcome attendants, and surely, if your lordship is so tenacious in strictly adhering to her majesty's requests in her Will, you cannot fail being equally so in complying with what I am sure would be her majesty's wish, was she living to speak; as it was ever her earnest desire to have no soldiers, but to be attended and guarded solely by the people. In their love she ever confided, and surely, my lord, you will not, at this awful moment of her interment, act so decidedly contrary to her inclination.

I omitted to mention, in my last letter to your lordship, that the person sent by government for providing the mourning for her majesty's servants did not arrive at Brandenburg-house till yesterday noon, consequently neither Lady Anne Hamilton, Lord Hood, nor myself, and several other gentlemen, could think it requisite to be in such haste to order their mourning; and until Dr. Lushington and Mr. Wilde arrived at Brandenburg-house, late yesterday evening, we could not form an idea of the funeral being fixed for so early a day.

I must again repeat, that on no occasion whatever has the government ever ordered the troops to attend her majesty; I trust, therefore, your lordship will not think of such a measure upon this occasion of her majesty's funeral; and I also conclude, from your lordship's not replying to that part of my letter, respecting her majesty's removal, that the procession will be ordered to move in the direct and nearest road through the City of London, as, I am informed, that the Lord Mayor and the Corporation of London intend meeting the funeral procession at Temple-bar; and surely your lordship will not offer an insult to so ancient and respectable a body, who have ever shown their attachment to the royal family. I flatter myself your lordship will forgive my thus troubling you, and impute it to my zeal and attachment to my much-loved and departed Queen; and I beg to subscribe myself, &c.

JANE HOOD.

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*The Earl of Liverpool's Answer.*

*Coombe Wood, Sunday Night, Aug. 12.*

MADAM,—I have had the honour of receiving your ladyship's second letter, and I must only repeat, that it is my duty to obey the King's commands as to the arrangements to be made for her majesty's funeral (whatever these arrangements may be, have been, or will be, duly communicated from the secretary of state's office to her majesty's executors); and I am under the necessity of adding, that no discussion can take place with any other persons on the subject. I have the honour, &c.

LIVERPOOL.

Upon the warning words of Lady Hood's very sensible letter, "*If there be no soldiers there will not be any disposition to tumult,*" and upon some other parts of this momentous correspondence, we must not be entirely silent; the words, indeed, when coupled with the recollections of all the popular transactions of the last two or three years, speak

with such an awful conviction to every impartial mind, that if the known humanity of the Earl of Liverpool in particular did not compel us rather to impeach his understanding than to suspect his heart, one should be disposed to the horrible suspicion, that soldiers never are employed upon any popular occasion, but with a view of producing tumult, where it would be desperate to hope that any would be produced without them. Exonerating, however, his majesty's ministers, as in duty bound, from so dark an imputation, we can only lament, that the height and distance of office should have rendered those blind to a conviction, which is as obvious as the noon-day sun to nearer and more impartial optics.

With respect to the Earl of Liverpool's final answer, we must be permitted to observe, that his throwing the responsibility of the arrangements for her majesty's funeral, or any other arrangements, upon his royal master, is not very reconcileable to our ideas of the British constitution. "The king's commands." The people of England know and acknowledge them only in acts of beneficence. All other arrangements are to them the acts and measures of his responsible advisers. It is to the cabinet, and not to the throne, that we must look with the eyes of censure or of critical animadversion.

With respect to the time of the removal of the remains of our injured and perseveringly-insulted Queen, we do not think that the question has yet,

not even in the letter of Lady Hood herself, been placed upon what appears to us its proper grounds. Her majesty, in her will, it is said, requested that her body should be removed *in three days*: three days from what? from the day of her death? That was physically impossible to be either effected or contemplated. It might as well be interpreted, three days from the date of the signing of the will. Her majesty's last commands could not be executed until they were known, nor known till the will was opened. The three days were therefore to be reckoned from the opening of the will, which expired not till the evening of Wednesday, the 15th; the hurrying away therefore of the body before Thursday, the 16th, was in violation of, not in obedience to, her majesty's dying testament, and for whatever mischiefs or degradations may have resulted from such precipitation, those who enforced that precipitation are therefore doubly responsible.

A report that her majesty would lie in state on Sunday, the 12th, and that the public would be admitted to Brandenburg-house, filled Hammer-smith with strangers. Numerous parties came down from London as soon as the rumour reached them, and persons of all ranks flocked in from the adjacent villages. The arrivals, however, appeared to be premature, for the order at Brandenburg-house was, that no one should pass the lodge except on business. The inquirers, in the mean time, did not give up their object:

they flattered themselves that the gates would be opened in the afternoon, and meant to wait the event. The whole of her late majesty's household attended divine service in the morning, in the long gallery of Brandenburg-house. The Rev. John Page Wood, her majesty's domestic chaplain, delivered a most impressive discourse adapted to the melancholy occasion.

A funeral sermon was also preached at the church of St. Paul, Hammersmith, by the Rev. George Leggett; and a second at the chapel of St. Mary, Fulham, by the Rev. Edward Elmes. The pulpit of Hammersmith church, and the pew (now empty and deserted) in which her majesty used to sit, were covered with black cloth, and the ornamental parts of the building were decked with bunches of crape: the present arrangement, however, was merely made on the spur of the moment: the following Sunday the church was fully hung with sable. The worthy divine (Mr. Leggett) took his text from the second Epistle of Paul to Timothy: the congregation were profoundly attentive; and the ladies almost universally shed tears.

The young ladies and gentlemen belonging to the various boarding-schools proceeded to their churches, chiefly all in deep mourning. The chapels in that direction were also in mourning. The bells at Hammersmith tolled every morning and evening.

On Monday, soon after ten o'clock, the under-



taker's people, under the direction of Mr. Thomas, of the Lord Chamberlain's office, had prepared the marble hall, at Brandenburg-house, for the reception of the royal corpse, in order to its lying in state. The marble hall is in the back of the house, on the ground floor, adjoining the apartment in which her majesty died. The walls and floor of this hall were covered with black cloth, that on the walls arranged in festoons, and the pillars which support the ceiling were also covered with the same material; but, unlike the other preparations of the same kind, the ceiling was not covered at all. In the centre of the room, immediately facing the entrance, a plain square canopy of black cloth was erected, and underneath stood the tressels intended to support the coffin. The entrance hall and vestibule were entirely covered with black.

The workmen having so far completed the arrangements, repaired to the adjoining apartment to remove the royal coffin, and place it beneath the canopy; but the door was found to be locked, nor could the key be found any where. Application was made successively to all the members of the household, but no one knew any thing of it. More than three quarters of an hour were spent in useless inquiry after it; at length Mr. Thomas directed the workmen to open the door by taking off the lock. This being effected, the royal coffin was placed in the situation prepared for it.

Whilst these things were doing, the crowd at

the lodge was every moment accumulating; but a strong party of the Bow-street patrol had the command of the gates, and admitted only such persons as they thought proper. This caused much dissatisfaction and turmoil throughout the day; and the murmurs were loud and incessant—both at the lodge gates, and at the stable-yard, both of which were surrounded by many hundreds of people, chiefly females, very respectably attired in deep mourning, who toiled and struggled hour after hour with infinite perseverance. This scene continued till after three o'clock, when they were somewhat pacified by its being announced that they would be indiscriminately admitted after six o'clock.

It was not till that hour that the ceremony of “lying in full state” commenced. During this time, however, many of the neighbouring gentry were admitted in small parties; and on no former occasion of the kind was ever such a manifestation of mental affliction witnessed. The ladies, for the most part, wept audibly—many threw themselves upon their knees before the coffin, and clasped their hands convulsively. In the course of the morning, the Honourable Mrs. Damer was observed among the company who approached the royal coffin, and fervently kissed it. She was accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, and appeared so absorbed in grief, that her ladyship had some difficulty in withdrawing her from the melancholy scene

At length six o'clock arrived, and full state commenced; but there was very considerable deficiency of the ceremonies usually observed on these occasions.

An ample pall of black velvet, lined with white sarsnet, was thrown over the coffin, turned back so as to show its foot, and a very indifferent imitation of the royal crown was placed on a golden fringed purple velvet cushion at its head, but the pall was unadorned with a single escutcheon. Three gigantic candles burned on either side the coffin; immediately over it appeared an emblazonment of the royal arms in a lozenge-shaped cloth of silver, six smaller escutcheons, with the arms of Britain and Brunswick quartered, were displayed near it, and the walls were gloomily enlightened with a few silver sconces. The only persons officially in attendance on the part of government, were three grooms of the great chamber, Messrs. Nost, Gardener, and Seymour, and two of the undertakers' men. There were no noble mourners, no pursuivants in their tabards, no yeomen of the guard, nor any of the usual accompaniments to denote the high rank of the illustrious deceased.

The gates at the lodge were now thrown open, and many hundred persons rushed tumultuously down the avenue, but an order was given almost immediately that no more should be admitted. There was no thoroughfare through the room of state, so that those who first obtained admittance

found it so extremely difficult to get out again, that much confusion appeared likely to ensue, and therefore the order to close the gate again was issued. The royal corpse, however, continued to lie in this state till late at night.

On the same day a Court of Common Council was held at the Council-chamber, Guildhall, for the purpose "of testifying in a suitable manner the deep and mournful feelings of the court, upon the sudden and lamented death of her majesty Queen Caroline." At a little after twelve o'clock, the Lord Mayor entered the court in deep mourning. The civic sword of state was sheathed in a black scabbard; and all the ceremonials evinced the same mournful solemnity. In a short time after the business of the day commenced, the court was quite filled.—There were only two Aldermen present.

Alderman Waithman reviewed the principal circumstances of the life of her late majesty, from the period of her first setting foot on our shores. He strongly animadverted on the rancour and persevering malignity of her enemies—eulogised in the warmest terms the intrepidity, firmness, and strength of mind, which had marked her majesty's conduct in all the trying scenes of her life. Those heroic virtues received additional splendour from the proverbial mildness, gentleness, and affable condescension of the royal sufferer; and proposed the following resolution:—

**Resolved**—That this court feels it a melancholy and irresistible duty to express its deepest concern and affliction at the premature and ever-to-be-lamented death of our most gracious majesty Queen Caroline. The eminent virtues she possessed—the amiable and unaffected condescension of her manners—the habitual kindness and benevolence of her disposition—and the vigour and intelligence of mind she displayed on the most trying occasions—her regard for the rights and liberties of the people—and the warmth of affection she evinced for the British Nation, would of themselves have called for expressions of gratitude to her memory, and sorrow for her loss. But when this court calls to mind the painful and distressing vicissitudes of her eventful life, from the period she first landed in this country, under the most flattering and auspicious circumstances, and contemplates the domestic afflictions and the series of persecutions which, in unrelenting succession, she has undergone—it cannot but record its highest admiration of the temper—the unshaken firmness and magnanimity with which she met and defeated, if not destroyed, the malice of her persecutors—and that to the last moments of her life she displayed the same fortitude with Christian resignation, forgiving all her enemies, and when under the weight of her complicated wrongs and sufferings, sinking into the arms of Death, she hailed him as a friend, in the hope of exchanging those scenes of sorrow and trouble for a crown of glory and immortality.

Mr. Favell then said, that having carried the first resolution, it was impossible they could suffer her majesty's body to pass through the city without testifying their most dutiful regard. He moved, therefore, the second resolution—

**Resolved**—That this court is anxious to do honor to the remains of her late majesty Queen Caroline; and, in the event of the royal corpse passing through this city, they feel it their duty to attend the funeral procession at Temple-bar, and through the City.

Both resolutions were carried unanimously. It was then put and carried unanimously, "That the sheriffs do forthwith wait on Lord Liverpool, in order to know the hour at which the corporation should attend at Temple-bar." After which, it was referred to the committee which had been appointed to attend her majesty to St. Paul's on the 29th of November last, to make arrangements for carrying the other resolution into effect. The council then broke up. The sheriffs immediately after, proceeded with the Remembrancer to the office of the Secretary of State, where they had an interview with Mr. Hobhouse, who promised an early answer. At a little before four o'clock the following answer was returned:—

*Whitehall, 13th August, 1821.*

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by the Earl of Liverpool, to whom I have communicated the resolutions agreed to at a common council held this day, to inform you, that all the arrangements for her late majesty's funeral have been completed, and laid before the King; and that it is not intended that the royal corpse should pass through the city, in its way from Brandenburg-house to Harwich, the port at which it is to be embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to Brunswick, in conformity to the desire expressed in her late majesty's will.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*To the Sheriffs of London, &c.*

H. HOBHOUSE.

Mr. Sheriff Waithman not having been able to obtain any information as to the route by which her majesty's remains were to be conveyed from Brandenburg-house, so late as half-past ten on Monday evening, sent the following letter to Lord

Liverpool, to which he received the subjoined answer:—

*Bridge-street, Aug. 13, 1921, half-past ten, p. m.*

MY LORD,—As Sheriff of the County of Middlesex, I feel it my duty to request your lordship to inform me by what route the remains of her late majesty are to be conveyed through the County from Brandenburg-house. I have the honour to be,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

*The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.*

R. WAITHMAN:

Lord Liverpool replied as follows:—

*Fife-house, Aug. 13, half-past 11.*

SIR,—I have this moment received your letter, and must refer you to the Lord Chamberlain's department for particulars. The directions are, that the remains of her late majesty shall be conveyed by the New-road\* to Romford, and then by the direct road to Harwich. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

*Mr. Sheriff Waithman.*

LIVERPOOL.

The Freemason's Tavern was besieged by crowds of people during the evening, and up to a late hour at night, to gain intelligence of the route which the procession was to take on Tuesday. The committee sat to a late hour, and a general meeting was held up stairs, at which Mr. Haydon presided, to wait the determination of the committee, and to receive the benefit of any official communication that might arrive in the course of the evening.

A good deal of discontent was manifested within and without doors, but no instance of

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\* It is indeed a very new road from Hammersmith to Romford.

disorder occurred throughout the night. It was determined, if no official communications were received in the course of the evening, the gentlemen who proposed to attend the procession on horseback should meet at Hyde Park-corner at six on Tuesday morning, to be in readiness to move forward. Persons were to be stationed at every outlet by which it was possible for the remains to be carried; and, should the procession not pass by Hyde Park-corner, the intelligence was to be communicated with as much speed as possible, in order to enable the horsemen to join it immediately.

At four o'clock the following communication was made :—

The Committee have received assurances from the following gentlemen, of their intention to attend the funeral procession of her late majesty, to-morrow, on horseback or in carriages, viz: Sir Gerard Noel, Bart., M. P.; Sir Robert Wilsop, Bart. M. P.; Hon. Grey Bennet, M. P.; Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P.; J. C. Hobhouse, Esq. M. P.; S. C. Whitbread, Esq. M. P.

*Freemason's Tavern.*

A. WILSON, Chairman.

Very early on the morning of the 14th, a great part of the population of the metropolis was in motion, to pay the last respect to the remains of the Queen, before they were transported for ever from a country which has been the scene of her persecutions and her triumphs. The people had been studiously kept in the dark, as to the course the procession was to take, perhaps with the view of giving that appearance of desertedness to



the funeral, which her enemies so studiously laboured to give her majesty's dwelling during her life. The anxiety of the people, however, to obtain the information that was withheld from them, was the means of shewing the interest which they felt. The state of the weather was such as would have scared mere idle spectators. The morning was unusually dark, and rain falling without intermission, added to the gloom which the solemn affair of the day was calculated to create.

The only information which the public had obtained as to the direction which the corpse was to take, was contained in the letter from Mr. Hobhouse to the Sheriffs of London. The information contained in this letter, was, however, merely negative : viz. that the royal corpse would not pass through the city. It was thought, perhaps, that the passage of the remains of her majesty through the city, attended by the Corporation, might have called to mind another occasion when the persecuted lady, whose remains were now to be borne to their last resting-place, went, amidst the gratulations of an unexampled multitude, to offer up thanks (alas ! how prematurely !) for her success against the malice of her enemies.

Mr. Bailey, of Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, who had been appointed conductor of her majesty's funeral, arrived at Brandenburg-house soon after five o'clock, preceded by the hearse, drawn by eight horses, and the mourning coaches,

with the various funeral tabernacles and paraphernalia. There were about twenty coaches and six, the horses' heads ornamented with plumes. The hearse was rather a small one, and surmounted by a profusion of black plumes; on each side, the royal arms, quartered with those of the Brunswick family, were emblazoned in scarlet and gold. This gave to the vehicle rather a splendid appearance; but it was still far short of what it ought to have been upon an occasion like this.

About the same time Sir George Nayler, as clarencieux king at arms, arrived, attended by Mr. Hood, the herald.

A little after six o'clock Dr. Lushington arrived. Mr. Wilde, Mr. Brougham, Alderman Wood, Mr. Hobhouse, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Thomas, (acting for Mr. Mash, of the Lord Chamberlain's office,) Dr. Holland, Lieutenants Flynn and Hownam, Count Vassali, &c. were present in the state apartment.

At six o'clock precisely, a squadron of the Oxford Blues, under the command of Captain Bouverie, arrived from their barracks, Regent's-park, (which they left at a quarter before five o'clock) at Brandenburg-house, and rode up the avenue from the lodge, and formed into a line in front of the house. The helmets of the officers were partially covered with black crape. The gates of Brandenburg-house were kept by one of the officers of Bow-street, who admitted only those whose names were on a list. The marshalsmen of

the royal household arrived about the same time on horseback. They were in full uniform, with their batons decorated with crape.

At seven o'clock the mourning coaches intended for the domestics of her late majesty's household were ordered to draw up to the door, and the servants, male, and female, having entered them, they drew slowly off towards the outer gates; this occupied half an hour. The servants of her majesty's counsel, and of her other officers, occupied places in these coaches; and the whole were arranged according to their respective ranks.

Mr. Bailey now gave orders for every person to be in readiness to depart with the procession; and he went into the state-room, and gave directions to the Lord Chamberlain's officers to deliver up the body to the persons in waiting, who would carry it to the hearse. The persons whose names are above-mentioned (except Mr. Wilde) were in the state-room at this period. Sir George Nayler stood in his state dress, at the foot of her majesty's coffin; on his right was Mr. Hood, the herald, holding in his hand the directions from his majesty's government, authorising him to remove the body. On each side of the entrance of the state apartment stood the officers of the Lord Chamberlain (grooms of the great chamber) in plain dress black, not their state attire. On each side of the body were arranged Mr. Brougham, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Chippenden (assistant conductor,)

Shortly after seven the hearse drew up to the door, and the bearers were ordered to be in readiness. Sir George Nayler, attended by Mr. Thomas and Messrs Seymour, Gardner, and Nost, went into the state apartment, and taking the cushion and crown from the head of the coffin, he bore it to the coach immediately preceding the hearse, and one of the attendants placed it on the seat. The bearers, eight in number, then advanced, and took up the coffin, to bear it to the hearse. The scene in the interior of the hall at this moment will not soon be forgotten. Many of the inferior domestics, who were not to accompany the funeral, had assembled in the passage to take a last view of the remains of their lamented mistress; and these, with several private persons, lined the room on each side. When the bearers advanced towards the door, the women sobbed aloud; and one threw herself upon the floor, and evinced the most violent and impassioned grief. Those of the other sex shed tears plentifully as the body passed; and several hurried out to see it deposited in the hearse. This having been done, under the immediate inspection of Sir George Nayler, that gentleman with his attendants, entered the carriage in which the crown, &c. were placed. The carriages for the mourners then came to the door in succession.

While the coach, appointed for Mr. and Mrs. Wilde, was stopping at the door of Brandenburg-house, a message was sent from him that he

wished to see Mr. Bailey. This gentleman immediately went to Mr. Wilde, and, on his entering the apartment Mr. Wilde presented him with a written protest against the removal of her majesty's body. He then addressed Mr. Bailey in very warm language, declaring the conduct pursued by his majesty's ministers to be most disgraceful, as well as illegal. He declared that the body was taken by force against the will of the executors, and called upon Mr. Bailey to give him some information as to where he intended to take the procession—by what route, and where was the destination? Mr. Bailey complained that every impediment was thrown in the way of the persons whose duty it was to attend the removal of the body. He then took out of his pocket a paper, and read from it the route of the procession.

The funeral cavalcade to pass from the gate at Brandenburg-house through Hammersmith, to turn round by Kensington-gravel-pits, near the church, into the Uxbridge-road, to Bayswater, from thence to Tyburn-turnpike, down the Edgware-road, along the New-road to Islington, down the City-road, along Old-street, Mile-end, to Romford, &c. A squadron of Oxford Blues from Brandenburg-house to Romford, to attend the procession; a squadron of the 4th Light Dragoons from Romford to Chelmsford; another squadron of the same regiment from Chelmsford to Colchester; another escort from Colchester to Harwich, where a guard of honour is in waiting

And this mere programme, unsigned, unvouched by any respectable functionary, was what Mr. Bailey on this and other occasions, appealed to, is his royal authority for superseding that of her

majesty's executors, and setting at nought, as hereafter will appear, even the directions of Lord Liverpool himself.

Mr. Wilde declared that he would not go into the procession in the route mentioned by Mr. Bailey, nor should the body be taken, except by force; and, when the body stopped at the first stage, he, probably, should be there to exercise his legal right as executor (which was superior to any usurped power then exercised by the officers employed by his majesty's ministers) to have the body removed according to his own will and that of her late majesty, without squadrons of soldiers. Mr. Bailey said that his orders were imperative, and that nothing should prevent him doing his duty. He would take upon himself the peril of removing the body.

Notwithstanding the jealousy with which the gates of the avenue to Brandenburg-house were guarded by porters, military and police, some had the good fortune to gain access to the vestibule of that melancholy mansion. Each was anxious to see all that was practicable to be seen of the sad remains, and lame and imperfect obsequies of our departed Queen, of whose wrongs we were certain, in whose innocence we believed; and whose persecutions, whose magnanimity in contending with them, and whose sensibility, which occasioned her to become the ultimate victim of them, have alike endeared her to our remembrance.

Nothing could in reality surpass the melancholy of the spectacle here exhibited to the spectators. The exterior of the vestibule covered with a profuse drapery of black cloth—the interior in the same sable hue—another profusion of like drapery closing up the access to the interior—the doleful illumination of wax-lights, &c., within, which served to make the darkness visible—the sable decorations of attendance, and the heavy fall of rain which descended at the time, though they could not augment the sadness of the heart, were yet in unison with it. Yet we confess the reflections mingled with the feelings thus inspired, were not so much on the frailty of human grandeur, as on the unfeeling cruelty and malignity of presumptuous power, to which the highest and the lowest victim is alike indifferent, when the ends of faction are to be obtained.

It could be but a few minutes after seven when the first mourning coach and six was ordered up to the door; for it was exactly eighteen minutes past, when that which all were most anxious to see, THE ROYAL COFFIN, was brought forth.

It was covered with crimson velvet, studded with nails and other customary ornaments of gold or of silver gilt. It was borne on the shoulders of eight strong men of equal stature, who seemed to totter beneath its weight, and who, with the assistance of Mr. Bailey and his attendants, seemed to have no small difficulty in putting it into the hearse. The pall was afterwards cram-

med in upon it with as little attention to the condition in which it was afterwards to come out, as the most ordinary article could have been thrust into a foul clothes bag. This may serve as a specimen of the kind of professional respect that was paid to the royal corpse.

The enumeration of the persons who were to fill the respective carriages then succeeded, and some surprise was excited not to hear the names of Mr. Brougham, or Mr. Denman, her majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, among them—though the carriage of the former was in the avenue, and himself within it. It was afterwards ascertained that he had been refused a place in any of the mourning coaches; and he followed, in fact, the procession in his own chariot—a private and voluntary attendant on the ceremony. Even at that time it was found, from the conversation of Mr. Bailey, &c., that much of the arrangement was open to his unsettled discretion; and that, although Mr. Alderman Wood was to be permitted to attend, it was left to the last moment of filling up the procession to decide whether a corner could be found for him in one of the government coaches; or whether he was to proceed solitarily in the one he had hired at his own expense. The fact is, that, although blanks were left for four names which Dr. Lushington and Mr. Wilde were at liberty to fill up, the persons were to be set down as officers of her majesty's household. This Mr. Wood, who had



never held any office in that household, nor received one shilling, either of the public money or of her majesty's, perseveringly declined. It was as the friend, not the officer of her majesty, that he attended. A place, however, was at last assigned to him on his own conditions, by the condescension, we suppose, of Mr. Bailey, and in the same carriage, it will be seen, with Count Vassali; and assuredly were never seen { in any state funeral, together, two faces more strongly expressive of grief and devoted attachment. The emotions of Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton were also very conspicuous; and scarcely less, though less to be expected, that of Mrs. Lushington—a circumstance which, together with that lady having accompanied, as will hereafter be seen, the remains of her majesty to the Continent, and, indeed, the whole of her interesting deportment on the occasion, ought to be known; as it may explain, perhaps, the reason for the particular time selected for the nuptials of Dr. Lushington, without which occurrence his lady could not have had the privilege of paying these last attentions to an injured and beloved Queen.

The children of Latimer's charity school were now observed going up towards the house, three and three—that is to say, a boy on each side with baskets hung with black and filled with flowers, and a girl between who was to scatter them.

At exactly a quarter before eight, the proces-

sion from the gates of Brandenburg-house began by the return of these poor children (the objects of her majesty's care and bounty) strewing their flowers along the path. Some of these flowers were eagerly snatched up by the spectators, and thrust into their bosoms, as sweet, though sad remembrances to their hearts. The greater part of the throng, however, seemed to disapprove of this, and remonstrated that they should remain, according to the intention of the strewers, as farewell offerings in the way over which the remains of their benevolent patroness were to be carried; and so, in fact, by far the greater part of them did remain.

The following is a correct arrangement of the order of the Procession.

Beadle of Hammersmith, at the head of Latimer's School  
Charity Children, who strewed the way with flowers.

Pages, three and two.

Oxford Blues, three and two.

Four Mutes, two and two.

First Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing the servants of her Majesty's Chamberlain, and  
Longuez, the black.

Second Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing Mr. Wilde's male and female servants, and a  
servant of Sir George Nayler.

Mutes and Pages, two and two.

His Majesty's eight Deputy Marshals, two and two, in state,  
on horseback.

Twelve Pages on horseback, two and two, with black cloaks  
and batbands.

Two Oxford Blues.

Her late Majesty's State Carriage, with six horses, containing Sir George Naylor, in his state dress as Clarencieux King of Arms, accompanied by Mr. Hood, the Herald.

[Sir George carried the Crown and Cushion from the state apartment to the door, and having got into the carriage, they were placed on his lap by the Herald, who afterwards took a seat by his side, with their backs towards the horses. The Cushion was about two feet long and one foot wide—black velvet, edged with gold fringe, and a large gold tassel at each of the four corners. It was an Imperial Crown which was carried upon the cushion.]

Two of her Majesty's state servants behind the carriages.

Squadron of Horse,

two and two, attended by their commanding officer.

#### HEARSE WITH EIGHT BLACK HORSES.

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[Each side of the hearse was decorated with an escutcheon. Postilions in black rode upon the two leading horses. At the end of the hearse was an imperial crown with the letters C. R. The horses in the coaches also were decorated with large black feathers.]

Four Soldiers, two and two, with flag.

Trumpeter.

Eighteen Soldiers, two and two.

Third Mourning Coach and Six, containing James Thomas, Esq., of the Lord Chamberlain's office, with a gentleman in the same department.

Fourth Mourning Coach and Six, in which was alone Lord Hood. Her Majesty's Chamberlain

Fifth Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton.

Sixth Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing Dr. Lushington and his Lady.

Seventh Mourning Coach and Six,  
prepared for Mr. and Mrs. Wilde.

Eighth Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing Mr. Alderman Wood and Count Vassali.

Ninth Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing Captain Hesse and Mr. Wilson (son of Sir Robert),  
her late Majesty's Equerries, with the Rev. Mr. Wood, her  
Majesty's Chaplain, and Mr. William Austin.

Tenth Mourning Coach and Six,  
containing Lieutenants Hownam and Flynn, with two other  
gentlemen belonging to the household.

Eleventh Mourning Coach and Six,  
contained Mr. Hieronymus, her Majesty's Steward, Mariette  
Brune (De Mont's sister), Lady Hood's female servant, and  
Lady Anne Hamilton's.

Twelfth Mourning Coach and Six,  
contained her Majesty's three Pages, Mr. Melburn, Mr.  
Adolphus, and Mr. Nicolini.

Sheriff Waithman's carriage.

Thirteenth Mourning Coach,  
contained Mr. Bailey, and two other gentlemen, who accom-  
panied the procession to Brunswick, to see the last rites per-  
formed over the body of her majesty, according to his instruc-  
tions from the British government.

Escort of Pages and Gentlemen residing in Hammersmith.  
A carriage with a servant, containing luggage belonging to the  
different persons in the cavalcade.

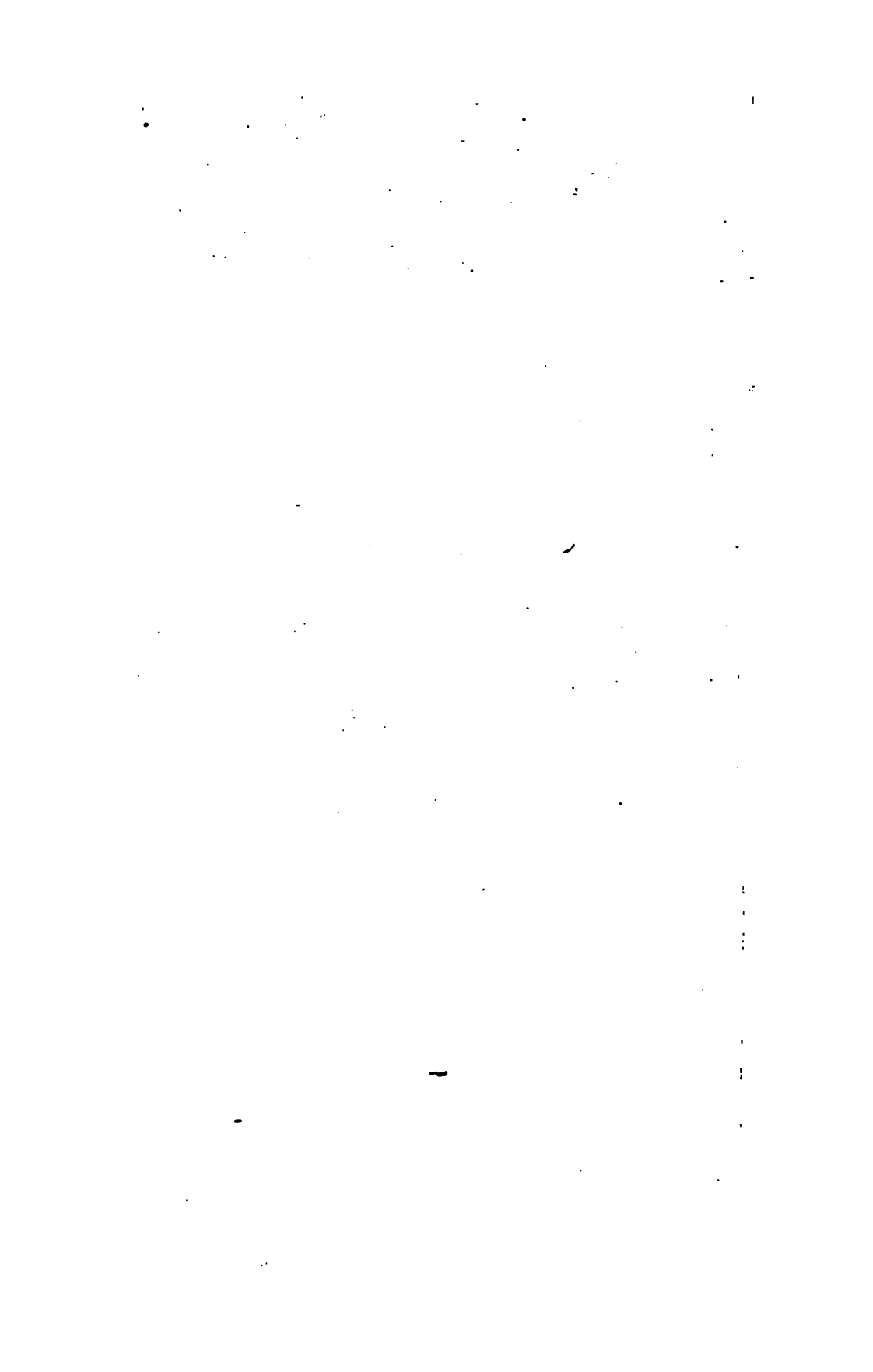
Two Highland Officers in a chaise.

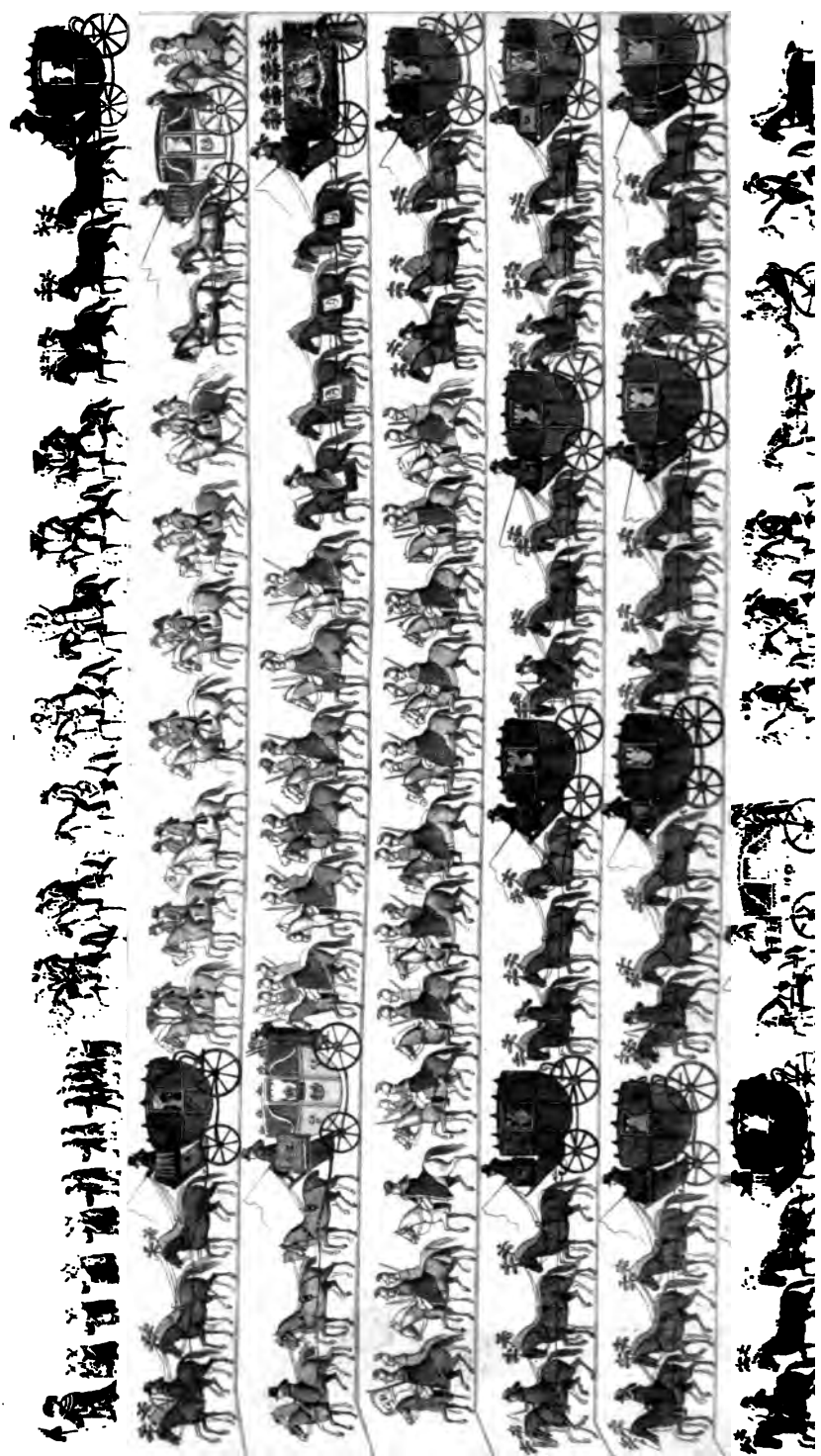
A Page.

The carriages of the different Gentlemen, friends of her late  
Majesty.

The hamlet of Hammersmith, as the procession passed up the Broadway, presented a striking spectacle. The windows of the houses were filled in every part, chiefly with females, all in the deepest mourning, and a great number of men had climbed upon the roofs, and even upon the chimneys, so great was the anxiety to obtain a view of the procession. On each side of the road vehicles of every kind were drawn up, and seats or standing places on them were purchased eagerly, at from one to three shillings. The owners of some of the carts and wagons had provided canopies of carpet or sail-cloth, which protected the occupiers of seats from the rain, and these men made a very considerable sum by their speculation. The space between these carriages and the people was completely filled with spectators on foot, many of whom were without umbrellas, or any other than their ordinary covering; but the heavy rain which continued to fall during the morning did not dismay them. Hundreds of women, of all ages, stood patiently beneath the pelting shower, and bore, without a murmur, the rude assault to which they were every minute subject, from the want of common tenderness on the part of the men.

As the procession moved along, it was regarded by the assembled multitude with mournful earnestness. The great majority of the female spectators were in tears, and many wept aloud as they took their last view of the hearse. The fair





inhabitants of the hamlet evinced the strongest sensibility upon this melancholy occasion. They were seen at their windows gazing with tearful eyes upon the solemn spectacle, and many were heard to sob aloud, apparently in the greatest agony of grief.

When the head of the procession reached the Broadway, the spectators were gratified with one of the most interesting sights ever witnessed. The children, male and female, of Latimer's charity-school, issued from the school-house, in their best dresses, wearing crape upon their hats, and each bearing a small white basket filled with choice flowers. The sides of the basket were covered with crape. The little ones having ranged themselves at the head of the cavalcade in proper order, two and two, they proceeded on, strewing their flowers in the road as they walked along. The extremely neat dresses of the children, with their simple but earnest manner of performing this ceremony, excited the highest admiration and the deepest sympathy. It imparted a degree of painful interest to the scene, that will long be remembered by those who had an opportunity of beholding it.

The children walked bareheaded, and bore the heavy rain with great cheerfulness. When their stock of flowers was exhausted, they walked out of the line, and stood at the side of the road until the procession had passed them, when they returned to the school-house.

These children had been furnished with their



to which route the procession would adopt, and the anxiety upon this subject soon became extremely intense. Every coach, every horseman, or even foot-passenger, who came from the direction of Hammersmith, was questioned with the greatest eagerness as to whether he knew any thing of the matter; and each succeeding person interrogated gave a different answer from the preceding one. At about a quarter past eight, it was announced that the procession was moving along the road at the other extremity of the Park, and instantly the whole crowd streamed off with all the speed in their power to the Oxford-street gate. Here they found that the same uncertainty prevailed as at Hyde-Park Corner; and, after they had waited with great patience for half an hour, another report was circulated that the procession was going along by Knightsbridge. Immediately the whole Park was covered with a moving cloud of umbrellas, the people having made their way over all parts of the wall along the Edgware-road, and directing their course back again to Hyde-Park Corner.

Still the route remained unascertained, and it was now understood that not even any of the persons at Hammersmith, except the undertaker, who was in the confidence of his majesty's government, were informed of the intended line it was to take. This circumstance appeared to excite a general murmur of indignation; and some went so far as even to utter imprecations upon

At this period the whole length of the Edgware-road was thronged to excess, and vast numbers made their way to the Paddington-road, under the impression that that was the destined route. A long line of carriages also blocked up each of the various roads through which there was any chance of the procession passing.

It now approached to eleven o'clock, and nothing but feelings of the deepest, the most heart-rooted affection and grief, could account for the extraordinary patience and self-devotion with which this immense concourse of persons, male and female, endured unintermitting fatigue, wet, and hunger, for a space of six hours; and, still although the water streamed in torrents from their drenched limbs—although they were hardly able to stand, from incessant running in every direction during the whole morning, and although almost fainting from exhaustion and want of food, they maintained an unshaken resolution to undergo every possible extremity of suffering from hardship or privation, rather than lose the opportunity of uttering a parting blessing on the cold remains of their “injured Queen.” At length, the arrival of one or two horsemen from Hammer-smith, known not to be in the service of government, who informed the anxious inquirers that surrounded them, that the most probable course for the procession to adopt was by Knightsbridge, induced the crowd to traverse Hyde-park a fourth time, and take their final stand in the neighbour-

hood of Hyde-park-corner ; where, during another hour of suspense and anxiety, they remained until the approach of the procession was at length announced in reality.

The procession moved on at a slow pace through the immense crowds that lined each side of the road. The order was not interrupted till its arrival at Kensington church. The constables and police officers, who by that time headed the procession, endeavoured to turn it out of the direct road leading to Piccadilly, by guiding it along Church-street, which is by Kensington church ; and thus to convey her majesty's remains into the Bayswater-road, following the route previously marked by Mr. Bailey. This was promptly and loudly resisted. The people cried out " Shame ! Shame !—Through the City ! Through the City !" but finding that exclamations would avail but little they resisted with personal force. A stout scuffle ensued ; and as no military had yet arrived, the populace triumphed. This brought the procession to a stand-still. A communication of what had passed was made to superior powers lower down in the procession ; and while this was taking place, the people, assembled in Church-street, set to work with an alacrity and success that were truly surprising, to render ineffectual an attempt to pass that way, by blocking up and cutting up the street. Wagons, carts, &c., were brought and placed across the streets ; the linch-pins were taken out, and some of the

wheels were taken off, and all the horses were removed. Higher up the stones were removed. trenches were dug in the roadway; even the water-pipes were opened. Crow-bars and pokers were at work, and the workmen were cheered with cans of porter, and with the applause of the multitude. A stoppage of as impassable a nature was thus created in less than half an hour, as ever was raised by a retreating army to check the pursuit of an enemy. A wagon, containing baggage belonging to the second regiment of foot guards, was seized and placed in Church-street. The serjeant commanding the party immediately represented to Sir Robert Wilson the great inconvenience the delay would occasion him and his party, as they had a long march before them. Sir Robert Wilson immediately addressed the populace, and pointed out to them that the delay would be of serious inconvenience to the soldiers. The short speech of Sir Robert was received with great good humour; the baggage-wagon was instantly released, and suffered to proceed on its journey, but another wagon was instantly placed in the same situation.

While these labours were going on, a soldier was forwarded to town, with a despatch to Lord Liverpool for orders. As Mr. Bailey, the conductor of the procession, would not take upon himself the responsibility of moving in any other direction than that laid down in the written direction, the whole cavalcade halted until new instructions arrived.

At half-past eleven, a troop of Life Guards appeared, coming from London. They were headed by Sir R. Baker, the chief magistrate of Bow-street, mounted on an officer's horse; and on each side of him was a military officer. Sir Robert and the officers having reconnoitred the end of Church-street, and found it impossible to remove the obstruction raised there, yielded to necessity, and gave orders for the procession to move on in a direct line, which was complied with, amidst the stunning huzzas of the multitude, who could not restrain their joy in having thus defeated the plan to carry off her majesty's remains without their even entering London.

Their exultations, however, were doomed to speedy interruption. As soon as the procession arrived at Hyde-park gate, by Kensington Barracks, Sir Robert Baker, with some of the soldiers, entered it, with the view of heading the procession. The joy ceased, and loud cries were heard of "Shame! shame! she shall not go through the Park! let us die first." Some one crying out "Every man in the breach," meaning the single gate that was then thrown open. About twenty persons instantly rushed into the opening, seized the gate, dragged the keeper and his helper forward, and closed them. This exasperated the serjeant of the troops inside, who cried out, "I'll chop your hands off, if you do not let go the gates." The gates were again drawn back, and again closed by the people. Here one of the soldiers outside, putting spurs

to his horse, dashed up to the gate, when a person amongst them immediately held a great stick over him, crying out, "Let our lives be lost before we let her pass this way." Here the cry of "Murder" was vociferated, and a voice exclaimed, "Sir Robert Baker, remember you have not read the Riot Act." Again a soldier from the roadside of the gate rode up to cut those hanging on to the gate, when one of the committee-men rode up between them and interposed. The cry was now, "Horsemen! horsemen! stand in the gate." One only attempting it, whose horse was frightened, he could not get him forward. Several persons now got up to the gate, and though the soldiers were not three yards from it, several large stones were thrown at the military, one of which struck a soldier on the breast; and the cry of "Murder!" still continuing, Sir Robert Baker said, "Open the gate, and we will go on." The gate was opened, Sir Robert Baker came out, and headed the procession, and it proceeded on towards Hyde-park-corner, the people crying out, "The City! the City! Nothing but the City! Fly to Hyde-park-corner; block up, block up; every man in the breach." The people now began to fly towards Hyde-park-corner, when they reached the gates they were closed, and the military were stationed close to the gates inside the park. The gates were soon opened sufficiently for them to come out one by one; they were then closed

again, and the military rode through the crowd to Park-lane, with their horse-pistols in their hands. When the procession reached Hyde-park-corner, a troop of the Life Guards was drawn up; at whose appearance much dissatisfaction was expressed by the people. Indeed, from the moment at which the procession moved from Brandenburg-house, the greatest dissatisfaction was displayed by the people at the appearance of the soldiery. As the procession passed by the Broadway, Hammersmith, a thousand voices exclaimed, "Why are the soldiers here?" and the hissings and hooting accompanied and followed them along the road. The soldiery bore those attacks at first with apparent good humour. At this period an immense multitude assembled—a multitude which, even on the finest day, and under circumstances of a more joyous nature, was never exceeded. The general cry amongst the people was, that the royal corpse should be carried through the city—that it should be paladed amongst that honest and honourable body who, from the first moment of her majesty's return to this country, had proved themselves her decided and disinterested friends. Many persons who were determined that her majesty's corpse should, in spite of those who were her enemies when she was living, pass through the streets of London carried in their hands copies of the official declaration, which told to the astonished public, that the remains of our beloved

and persecuted Queen should be conveyed from Hammersmith in an almost ignominiously private manner. This new mode of heaping insult on the remains of one, who, while living, had braved her enemies with a degree of firmness which virtue alone can bestow, excited amidst the crowd the strongest sentiments of reprobation; and those sentiments were loudly expressed, as the procession approached Park-lane. Groans, hisses, and execrations, were here levelled at the soldiers; and again it was demanded, in a voice of thunder, "what business had they there on such an occasion?" The Life Guards, who had before signalized themselves in the same neighbourhood, were not quite so gentle as they had previously been, and they struck, with the flat of their swords, some of those persons who reproached them. They attempted to force, *vi et armis*, a passage down Park-lane; but the dense mass of people, and the coaches, carts, and cars, which in a very few minutes were thrown across the road, rendered their efforts wholly abortive. Here there was a delay for a few minutes; until at length the officer of the guard having consulted with some persons near him, the procession was ordered to turn, and it entered the Park at the corner gate, and proceeded towards Cumberland-gate, the entrance at the Oxford-street end. The Life Guards were drawn up, six on each side of the gate. Two of them then passed the procession, and rode a-head of the horsemen. The



appearance of this fresh supply of military force occasioned the most boisterous uproar. Some of the Guards, displeased with the abuse they received, struck the people; but the people, though unarmed, did not refrain from their maledictions. The scene at this moment was most awful—the carnage of Manchester rapidly shot across the memory of the people. An immense multitude covered the Park; but all was peace and quiet, except when the military appeared. Some of the Life Guards rode to and fro, which seemed to excite much displeasure among the crowd, which was testified by hissings and hootings.

After the commencement of the procession had passed Hyde-park-corner, and entered Piccadilly, fresh interruption took place. Considerable parties of benefit societies, of different trades, &c., who had carried addresses to the Queen, appeared at this point, with their banners and solemn music, prepared to join the procession. They occasioned some delay. Next it was found that Park-lane, the then contemplated route, had been stopped up almost as effectually as Church-lane, at Kensington, had been previously rendered impassible. The procession was thereby again brought to a complete stand-still, one that was rendered the more painful and alarming, owing to the increased numbers of the populace, as well as of the horse soldiers. Several hundreds of Horse Guards and of Blues lined the streets, and the former certainly were not hailed in a very

complimentary manner by portions of the vast and, in many instances, irritated multitude now assembled. Sir R. Baker knew not what to do; officers of the Guards said they must obey their orders—they were positive—they were peremptory. The people looked to the gentlemen on horseback, particularly to several distinguished citizens, for them to advocate their cause at this critical juncture, with the civil and military authorities. A more frightful state of things was never beheld; the most dreadful consequences were to be apprehended—pistols, as well as swords, were drawn, the Guards displaying the most determined demeanour.

Mr. Hurcombe, the common councilman, at this fearful moment, rode up to Sir R. Baker, and claimed his attention, if he had no right to ask that of the officers. He said, amongst other observations, "For Heaven's sake! Sir Robert, let the procession proceed through the City! You see the people will not be satisfied without such a course be pursued. If the contrary course be persisted in, the consequences, I fear, must be dreadful. There is every reason to apprehend that in such case blood will be spilled,—lives will be lost. Therefore, reflect well, and let the procession proceed through the City."

Sir R. Baker.—"I know not what to do; the orders are positive—peremptory: I cannot change them."

Mr. Hurcombe.—"You see that the lives of

your fellow-citizens are placed in jeopardy—you see what is the state of the public mind; therefore, let me beseech you, take on yourself the responsibility of ordering the corpse to pass through the City. You will thereby doubtless save many lives; and if you do not pursue such course, and should lives be lost, who will be answerable for them after this warning? Will not you be answerable? Then take on yourself the responsibility."

Sir R. Baker.—"I will."

He afterwards held a conversation with an officer of the Guards, who said that his orders were peremptory, that he could not proceed through the City; and, be the consequences what they might, he must fulfil his orders. He at the same time called on Sir R. Baker to aid him with the civil power in the execution of such duty.

Mr. Bailey now intimated a desire that the cavalcade should again attempt to pass up Park-lane into Oxford-street; but it was found impracticable. The head of the procession was then moved down the line of Piccadilly, and had proceeded nearly as far as Lord Coventry's house, when it was met by a fresh reinforcement of horse-soldiers, by whom its further progress in that direction was stopped. The conduct of the people during the stoppage, towards the military, was of a trying nature. After some hesitation, the leaders of the procession and the military

commanders being apparently occupied in deliberating on the course to be taken, the whole made a retrograde movement towards Hyde-park-corner. Upon this the mob gave a loud and deep shout, and mud and missiles flew at the soldiery from all directions. A party of dragoons were immediately sent round to Park-lane, with strict orders to remove the carts; in which service, we regret to say, many of them, as well as the crowd, were badly wounded, the former with stones, the latter with the swords of the soldiery. One dragoon had his eye severely cut with a stone; and he would, no doubt, have killed the man with his sabre, had it not been for the humane interference of Sir R. Baker. The line of wagons, however, was so very compact, that it was found impossible to remove them, and this circumstance being communicated to the magistrate, whose strict orders were, that it should take no other route than that prescribed by the officers of his majesty's government, it was, after considerable stoppage, agreed to open Hyde-park-gate, and orders were given to admit the whole cavalcade, and to exclude the crowd, which was at length effected, after considerable resistance and pelting on the part of the latter.

At about twelve o'clock the procession entered the park, and during its passage through it a scene of confusion and outrage ensued of which the annals of this or any other Christian country can, it is hoped, present few parallels. Vast

numbers of persons on foot and on horseback passed with great speed along Park-lane, and in all directions towards Cumberland-gate at the end of Oxford-street. Their object was suspected by the guards to be to reach that gate before them, with the view of meeting the procession and again forcing it to turn back. To prevent this the guards galloped through the park at full speed, in order to gain Cumberland-gate before them. Simultaneously with this movement of the guards and the multitude attendant on the royal funeral, the procession itself moved at a very quick pace through the park. Suddenly, however, it halted, and it was understood that the people had closed the gates. It now became necessary, in consequence of the peremptory orders issued to the guards, to force a way for the procession through whatever impediments might present themselves, for them to disperse the multitude at Cumberland-gate, and clear a passage. The people were equally bent on turning the procession, and forcing it into the route of the city. Here a contest arose, and here, we deeply grieve to say, blood was shed. Some stones and mud were thrown at the military, and, a magistrate being present, the soldiers were sanctioned in firing their pistols and carbines at the unarmed crowd. Screams of terror were heard in every direction, and numbers were seen flying across the park in dismay. The number of shots fired was not less than forty or fifty.

Hyde-park would have been the scene of a tragedy, as dreadful as that acted at Manchester, had not the large open space towards Bayswater afforded ample opportunities for escape from the murderous weapons of the soldiery. The guards were galloping about in all directions. One of the sufferers, was Richard Honey, a carpenter, residing at No. 3, Rose-street, Soho, the other George Francis, a bricklayer. They were shot at the corner of Great Cumberland-street, and the bodies were carried to the General Townshend, in Oxford-street. Others were carried to St. George's Hospital. So completely did the soldiery appear at this period to have lost the good temper and forbearance they previously evinced, that they fired several shots in the direction in which the procession was then moving. In consequence of this, some gentlemen belonging to the parish of Hammersmith, and who occupied a coach next to that of Alderman Wood, narrowly escaped with their lives. A ball passed through one of the panels of the coach, and came out at the other side, but most providentially without any injury to those within it.

The procession now crossed the end of Oxford-street; and, leaving Tyburn-turnpike on the left, passed down the Edgeware-road towards Paddington. Almost immediately upon the cessation of the firing, the latter part of the procession, which during the continuance of the unfortunate affray between the military and the people had

to proceed along the Edgeware-road, as strong in numbers as when it first left Hammersmith, with the exception of the seceders we have above alluded to. The rain, which had latterly somewhat abated, again poured in torrents as the procession advanced on the Edgeware-road. The number of pedestrian followers continued undiminished. Indeed, it was somewhat surprising, at least it would have been so on any other occasion, to perceive the vast number of respectable people who followed the procession on foot, and who, although it was evident that many of them had put on their mourning for the first time, proceeded onwards totally regardless of the almost incessant rain which wetted them to the skin. The expression of deep feeling among the spectators of the never-to-be-forgotten ceremony of the 14th of August, far surpassed even the expectations which the ardent admirers of our late Queen had formed on this subject. It might reasonably be supposed, that amongst all persons of kind dispositions, great sorrow would be felt for her majesty's unhappy fate; but that it should have been so deep and so general could hardly be expected, even by her best friends. Her death-bed, has, however, converted thousands of sceptics. At most of the houses along the route which the procession pursued, females of all ages might be seen weeping; their eyes red and swoln, and their whole demeanour giving evidence of the most poignant grief. This, which is a fact of great interest, was wit-

cart, coach, and vehicle, of whatever description, was seized, or rather spontaneously seemed to go and form itself into parts of a dense deep mass, extending the whole width of the road, and almost a hundred yards in depth. Through such a compact body it was impossible to force any passage except by artillery. The leader of the procession looked at the impenetrable mass with dismay, and turned down into Tottenham-court-road. The persons, however, who had the conduct of the funeral, were not yet awakened to the impossibility of carrying their designs into execution, but made another fruitless effort to deviate into a lone and by-way; but the skill and dexterity of the multitude again anticipated and defeated them. Francis-street, Tottenham-court-road, down which the leader of the procession attempted to pass, was in an instant blocked up with carriages of all descriptions, which seemed to rush to a common centre as if by instinct. The procession was thus compelled to move on in a straight line towards St. Giles's, every street which leads out of Tottenham-court-road towards the New-road, being rendered inaccessible by the instantaneous blockade of the multitude.

At the bottom of Oxford-street those who acted in opposition to the wishes of the people intended to turn the procession back into some of the by-streets, by means of a regiment of foot-soldiers; but the military were too late, either by passive obstruction or by firing. The procession now



moved onwards till it reached the top of Drury-lane ; and here the main passage down Holborn being completely blocked up, it was compelled to take the direction towards the Strand. Nay, so anxious and so determined were the people not to be defeated, that it having occurred to them that another attempt might be made to regain the irregular path, by turning out of Drury-lane into Great Queen-street, and thus returning to Holborn, they effectually blocked up the avenue of Queen-street, and forced the procession to descend into the Strand. It may here be proper to remark, that the Oxford Blues, who were on duty at the time the Life Guards fired on the people, did not participate in the outrage. They were, of course, during the whole day, favourites of the people, and were repeatedly cheered. Though the public were displeased to see any military force in the procession, the mild conduct of these soldiers and their officers seemed to attract that approbation which is always given to men who behave with moderation and propriety, in whatever situation they may be placed.

Various but most unsuccessful efforts were made to precipitate the funeral through High-Holborn, and thence, northerly, by one of the many obscure streets with which that neighbourhood abounds. But these efforts were futile ; that people who, with solicitious care, watched over her majesty's interests while living, protected her remains from insult when the noble

spirit had fled. Every base attempt having been effectually baffled, the funeral proceeded quietly towards Temple-bar.

When the cavalcade arrived at the bottom of Newcastle-street, a body of infantry was drawn in a semi-circular line across the street from the New-Church to prevent the people from passing. Upon reaching Temple-bar, the procession halted for a short time; and part of the body of Life Guards which had hitherto accompanied the cavalcade, here separated from it and returned to the west-end of the town. The Oxford Blues were much applauded by the people at this spot.

So little expectation was entertained by the city authorities, that the remains of her majesty would ultimately be conveyed through the city, that the Lord-Mayor was in Guildhall, presiding as governor of the Irish Society, when, about half-past two o'clock, a private individual announced that the procession with the remains of the Queen was then coming into the city; whereupon the court was adjourned by desire of several of the members, and his lordship proceeded on foot to the Mansion-house, after giving directions to one of the city-officers to proceed and obtain perfect information as to the truth of the circumstance stated to him; and this being ascertained, his lordship proceeded from the Mansion-house in his private carriage towards Temple-bar.

As soon as the cavalcade passed the gates, the Lord-Mayor placed himself at its head, and in

clapping of hands. Those who had, during the reign of persecution, waited on her majesty with addresses, were not negligent on this occasion. Her whom they had loved in life, they followed in death; and after bearing a heavy rain from four o'clock in the morning till twelve at noon, they joined the funeral procession, and followed all that remained of Caroline Amelia into the metropolis of this great empire. Amongst those grateful people were observed, the carpenters, the brass-founders, the morocco leather-dressers, coopers, &c. They marched in ranks, with banners and emblems of their profession. They carried banners. One large banner, white with black letters, had the following inscription:—"Power of Public Opinion;" another had—"United we stand;" another—"Spanish Leather-dressers; Justice will triumph;" another—"Friends of Humanity." The sailors who had assembled at Whitechapel, and a number of societies in various parts, moved towards Hammersmith, on learning that the corpse of her majesty was to be conveyed by the outskirts of the metropolis towards Harwich. The streets were, during the day, crowded with decent people, all in mourning; some entirely clad, others partially, according to their respective means of expense, but none without some token of their regard for their beloved and persecuted Queen. At the boundary of the city, in Whitechapel, the Lord-Mayor and Mr. Sheriff Waithman left the procession; it was then five o'clock, and the

fatigue and exhaustion of both man and horse were such as to make it impossible to go much further without rest.

From Whitechapel the procession moved on to Mile-end, in the same order in which it had passed through the city, with this difference, that before it reached to the former place it was joined by a large additional body of sailors, who formed in small parties of six abreast, intervening between the hearse and the carriages in front. The procession at this place (Mile-end) advanced at a much more rapid rate than it had been enabled to do before. The groups of mariners which had just joined it, however, kept pace with it, and continued to move on in very regular order until it reached Bow.

The procession entered Bow a short time past five o'clock. The crowds which lined the roads and filled the houses on its approach to this place were very great. Not an elevation on which even a single individual could obtain a sight of the approaching procession remained unoccupied. The streets were thronged, the houses and windows filled, and not a place was left empty at its approach. It was here noticed, as well as in several other stages of the melancholy procession, that the females received it with tears. Indeed, it would be difficult to convey to a person who had not witnessed the procession, an adequate idea of the feelings with which the remains of her majesty were received, in every place through

which they passed. During the whole course of the procession from Whitechapel to Romford there was not scarcely a house which the body passed, in which several females did not bestow the tribute of a tear to the memory of their beloved Queen. Indeed, on no occasion were such public manifestations of real sorrow exhibited. The grief of very many of the most respectable females who witnessed the procession appeared rather as that which is created by the loss of a dear and intimate friend, than what is generally felt for the departure of a person of her late majesty's rank.

It has been mentioned that a large body of mariners joined the melancholy procession at Mile-end. They continued with it (though even at this place the rapidity of its movements was considerably greater than what would be called very quick walking) until it reached nearly to Bow: at this place the cavalry (and of course the hearse and its attendant carriages) advanced at such a quick rate as defied the exertions of an ordinary pedestrian. The consequence was, that many of those who had accompanied the funeral on foot, were obliged to drop behind. This rapid pace was continued for the greater part of the way between Mile-end and Bow; and though at the latter place, in consequence of the great crowds which preceded it, its speed was relaxed, yet still it was greater than that with which an ordinary pedestrian could keep pace. This quick

spectators. At the doors and windows of every house, groups of individuals were seen, who appeared to sympathise most deeply in the general feeling. At Ilford the greater part of the knight marshal's men left the procession. The cavalcade then moved on towards Romford, but at rather a slower pace than it had kept since it left Mile-end. At about a mile at this side of the town it was met by a deputation of the inhabitants attired in deep mourning, each individual bearing a black wand, covered at the top with crape. Preceded by this body it entered Romford at a quarter to eight o'clock. The inhabitants had been expecting it for several hours before; and the most strange stories were prevalent as to the cause of its delay. The White Hart-inn, where it was determined that her majesty's suite should stop and dine, was hung with mourning. A large canopy covered with black cloth, handsomely festooned, was raised over the gateway under which the persons composing the procession had to pass. As soon as the mourners had alighted from their carriages, the hearse with the royal remains was drawn up about a hundred yards further into the town. The Oxford Blues, which had attended it from London, were here relieved by a party of the 4th Light Dragoons. Of these, a small guard of honour was placed round the hearse; the remainder of the troop paraded up and down the street in its vicinity. It was expected by some that the stay of the procession at Romford would

The mildness of the evening, and the brightness of the sky, in which an unclouded moon was shining with all its lustre, attracted many small detached parties both of men and women to follow the funeral far beyond the immediate limits of their own neighbourhood. At a village about a mile and a half from Romford, the torchbearers bade a last farewell to "the injured Queen of England," and at the same time, some of them called down curses, not only deep, but loud, upon her persecutors. On leaving this place the military put their horses to a sharper pace, and for some time the rate at which they went was more like that of a race, than that of a funeral; and at one time they were nearly half a mile a-head of all the mourning coaches. They halted, however, more than once before they got to Chelmsford, to allow them time to regain their proper place in the cortege. At Brooksbridge and at Brentwood, the people had given up all expectations of seeing the funeral that night, and on its arrival were running about in all kinds of undress to obtain a sight of it. A great desire existed both in these and in other villages to touch the hearse which conveyed her majesty. In all of them the bell of the parish church tolled minute strokes from the entrance to the departure of the procession. Arriving at Chelmsford, the inhabitants proved themselves better acquainted than their neighbours with the intentions of the "powers that be;" for their windows and streets were quite as crowded as they ever are in the day

while the mourners, who formed the procession, stood round the body. As soon as it was finished, an order was given to clear the church, and a guard of Blues took their station beside the coffin, where they remained for the night. So deep was the interest of the mourning population in the object before them, that the order for clearing the church was executed with difficulty, and only after repeated exhortations from the clergymen.

The decorous solemnity and sympathy of the population of Chelmsford, deserves particular acknowledgment: for it is a place well known for its devotion (at least the devotion of its corporation, &c.) to ministerial views. They had, at least, the honour of not letting the prejudices of faction supersede the sympathies and duties of humanity. But it is not every where that the corporation stamps the character of the people.

At eleven on Wednesday, two troops of light dragoons, of the regiment called the Queen's Own were drawn up before the church. The hearse was brought down, and the mourning coaches forming the procession arranged as before. The undertakers were employed to bring out her majesty's remains from the church; the bell tolled, and the funeral proceeded. All the attendant mourners were ready from nine o'clock, the hour originally fixed upon for their departure. The respite of two hours, which they enjoyed, was entirely owing to the good-will and pleasure of the government directors of the ceremony.



occasion to mention. From the highest to the lowest persons in the town, all were in mourning, and it could not have been more general had each family in the place lost a near and dear relation. The only exception was in the house of a Quaker, whose religious tenets prevented him from exhibiting any outward appearance of his inward grief. The housetops were crowded with numbers of well-dressed females, many of them in tears: the male inhabitants appeared to be all engaged in preceding the procession on horseback to Colchester. Indeed, the cavalcade of horsemen at Kelvedon was considerable, and as it was mostly formed of substantial farmers, assumed a very imposing appearance.

The roads between Kelvedon and Colchester were filled with detached parties of men and women, who were all anxious to secure a view of the melancholy procession which was carrying the Queen of their affections home to the mausoleum of her paternal ancestors, instead of to the tombs of that family, into which she had been adopted by marriage. About Langston the road is so peculiarly formed, from its being cut through a small declivity, that the ridges on each side of it afforded, as it were, excellent galleries for the accommodation of the numerous spectators who hastened to crown them,—men, women, and children, of all sizes, ages, ranks, and conditions. The hill on which the town of Colchester is situated, afforded an opportunity for beholding the

increased to more than 350 persons, all in black, and linked arm in arm with each other, in rows of four and five each. They were followed by about 100 gentlemen on horseback, who attended the procession for some miles. Then came another squadron of the dragoons, and then the remainder of the procession, in the same order as before described. On turning into High-street the bugles of the regiment played the Dead March in Saul, and continued to play till the hearse arrived at the Three Cups Inn, where it was intended to remain till all was ready for another advance. A body of dismounted dragoons stationed by one of the public buildings presented arms to the coffin as it passed them. As soon as the body of gentlemen mourners had arrived in the High-street, and had taken their ground, they wheeled off into two distinct bodies to the right and left, and thus one of them formed one side, and the other another side of the living avenue, through which the royal cortege was to pass. A manœuvre on a field day was never executed by a set of soldiers with greater order and regularity. If the mourners had been exercising daily for twenty years, they could not have performed it with greater dexterity. The procession then moved quietly on through them until it reached the Three Cups, where refreshments were understood to be provided for the different members of her late majesty's household. The bells of the different parish churches

responsibility the procession should move at eight o'clock. Silent submission was the only reply to commands backed by a military force. The Queen's household and executors, therefore, prepared for their departure after snatching a hasty meal, when Mr. Bailey entered, and said that if they preferred staying at Colchester for the night, he had no particular objections. To this proposal they of course assented; the order for an immediate departure to Harwich was countermanded, and a night's repose granted to the fatigued and harrassed party. Though the royal remains had stood in the street during the time of refreshment, it was thought too indecent that they should be kept there during the night. Accordingly, they were removed to St. Peter's church, the chief church of the town, escorted by a fresh detachment of the 4th Light Dragoons, and attended by her late majesty's household. The pulpit had previously been hung with black, and preparations had been made beside the altar for receiving the coffin, which was taken from the hearse and there deposited. But a scene of singular outrage now ensued.

Her majesty's remains had been hurried with such indecent precipitation from Hammersmith, that time was not even allowed for affixing the plate which contained the account of her age and station, on her coffin. A plate containing a Latin inscription, was in the pocket of the undertaker, but Dr. Lushington, as one of her late majesty's

church they obtained an engagement from the undertaker, that the plate should not be removed in the night. Two persons appointed by the executors were by assent left behind to prevent any clandestine or unauthorized violation of this arrangement. As to the multitude of persons who thronged into the church to see the inscription, they were turned out by the military; and shortly after the departure of the executors, their two watchmen were turned out also. The plate with the inscription dictated by her majesty's will, was torn off; nor was it known what had become of it. The government inscription was fixed in its place. And all this took place at the altar of a Christian church.

For the remorseless indecency and indignity of this proceeding the government conductors of the funeral at last pleaded an order from the Prime Minister. An answer was received from Lord Liverpool, stating, that as government had undertaken the charge of the funeral, which the executors had renounced, he conceived that while her majesty's remains were in this country, they (the executors) had no right to interfere with any part of the management or arrangements. As soon as they arrived at Stadt, in Germany, they might do in this matter what they thought proper. On this answer being received, the undertakers immediately proceeded to remove the inscription, which contained too much truth and feeling to receive the sanction of government.

the procession. And here, we are sorry to say, that after midnight, one of the most degrading scenes was witnessed, that at such a period could disgrace a Christian country; a den of drunken wretches, of both sexes, and of the very lowest description, reeling, roaring, and belching out "God save the King," mingled with the grossest vociferations, in the very vicinity of the church, where, at that time, the arrival of the corpse was expected. A grave and indignant reproof, however, put these wretches to silence; and, notwithstanding this occurrence, we believe, that had the original intention of moving the royal remains thither for the night, been carried into effect, the disgraceful scene acted at Colchester could not have taken place.

At any rate, we saw enough of the general deportment of the clergyman there, to be convinced he could not have been made a participator or instrument in such a profanation of the sanctuary; and we may also add, that, with the exception to some of the lowest of the low, and to a few whom we will not characterise, the prevalence of decorous and right feeling was very general in Harwich. At one or two o'clock in the morning, however, an express arrived that the royal remains had rested for the night at Colechester and were to start again in the morning.

At a little before six the procession did begin to move. About nine it rested for a few minutes at Manningtree, having been received by the

and the Pioneer schooner. The boats around them appeared innumerable.

At half-past eleven the procession arrived at Harwich. It was met outside of the town by a detachment of the 86th, of about a hundred and fifty men, with a stand of colours and band. The crowds of well-dressed people in mourning who were waiting on the slopes of the fort, and on the edges of the road, certainly expected a procession of a very different kind from that which wound down the hill into the town, after the assurance given by Lord Liverpool to Lady Hood, that the funeral should be conducted with decency, order, and in a becoming manner. The procession as it entered Harwich was literally such as is now mentioned. A small advanced guard of cavalry preceded; Mr. Chittenden, the undertaker, on a lame horse, headed; ten undertakers on horseback, in pairs—a miserable spectacle, both as to cattle, dress, and persons, some with shoes, some with gaiters, others in boots, some in spurs, others not—followed their leader. Three mourning-coaches and six, one of which contained the real directors and lords of this strange ceremony, Mr. Bailey and Mr. Thomas; the two others, containing the servants of the Queen's household, came next. Mr. Bailey was the head undertaker, and Mr. Thomas the deputy of the non-existent Lord Chamberlain. About twenty-five cavalry, 4th Dragoons, followed. Then came her majesty's own carriage, drawn by six bay horses, containing

pair came next. The carriage of Mr. Saville, of Colchester, with that gentleman and another in it. Dr. Lushington's empty carriage. The Rev. Mr. Fonnereau's family, of Christ-church Park, Ipswich, in an open barouch and four. An empty gig. These equipages, brought up by another detachment of dragoons, closed the "decent," "orderly," and "becoming" funeral of the Queen of England—the wife, as the new inscription said, of the most potent monarch George IV.! But if the reader be astonished at the foregoing details, how will he be surprised at what ensued? The executors, suite, and friends of her late majesty, were kept in entire ignorance of the intention of government as to the embarkation, either as to time or place. The ladies who had got into the carriage before six o'clock, knew not whether they were to proceed on board immediately, or stay for refreshment.

The procession, as before described, marched into the town. The dragoons preceding played the *Dead March in Saul* on their trumpets. The infantry, with arms reversed, took up the tune, going before the cavalry. The infantry had one stand of colours, the cavalry two standards. The head of the procession arrived on the jetty before Lord Hood, the executors, or any other person knew what was to take place. The troops drew up, opened their ranks, and formed a line on each side. Mr. Chittenden and his ten men dismounted; and it then, for the first time, appeared

funeral, some little stop would have been made to allow Lord Hood and the ladies of her majesty's household to come up and follow their royal mistress. But no; the body and the undertakers had advanced full thirty yards, and were on the edge of the outer jetty, before Lord Hood could get from his carriage, and hurry after the coffin. The next carriage, containing Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, was opened in haste by some common fellow, and there being no person to receive them, either civil, military, or of the Queen's household, Lady Hood nearly fell on her face, the undertakers proceeding all this time with their burden. Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, standing alone, looked round them, at a loss, apparently, whither to go or what to do. Mr. Hume and Mr. Hobhouse came back in haste from their position on the edge of the jetty, where they stood with Mr. Wilde. Mr. Hume gave his arm to Lady Hood, Mr. Hobhouse to Lady Anne Hamilton, and followed Lord Hood. The body was still carried forward.

By this indecent haste, neither Dr. Lushington nor Mr. Brougham, nor any of those more immediately connected with her majesty, could join the body until this unpalled coffin was slipped off the undertakers' shoulders upon the slings and under the crane, that in a minute or two swung it from the shore. Be it recollected, that this part of the ceremony, as far as regarded England, was in fact the funeral of her majesty. Not even



anxiety and death-like stillness prevailed amongst those who, from all the surrounding points, as well as the vessels, were able to witness the last melancholy scene.

A period of deeper interest, mingled with horrot and disgust, never occurred on any civilized ceremony in any age or country. The coffin was in the barge, and the spectators could now see that the new silver plate had replaced the gilt plate ordered by her majesty's will, which was affixed by the executors, and torn off by the orders of those persons who had, agreeably to his majesty's instructions, declared their determination to fulfil her last wishes. Sir George Naylor, Mr. Chittenden, Mr. Bailey, and Mr. Thomas, now carried the crown and cushion into the barge, and placed them on the head of the coffin; and these worthy gentlemen were the only persons who were allowed to accompany the Queen's remains from the shore. Thus a single herald, an undertaker, a deputy undertaker, and a non-descript from the Chamberlain's office, without a signed order, paid the last honor to the departed Queen of England. The barge was quickly towed off, surrounded by the men of war's boats, to the Pioneer schooner, a vessel employed in the preventive service, which instantly hoisted the royal standard, and made sail out of the harbour to join the Glasgow frigate, which lay two miles east of Landguard Fort.

As soon as Lord Hood could recover from the

agitation of the melancholy scene, his attention was directed to his own situation and to that of his wife, and of Lady Anne Hamilton, and the others of her late majesty's household. His lordship, besides the distressing circumstances of the scene described, had been much affected by the sight of Mr. Mason, midshipman on duty in the barge of the Tyne. The father of this young gentleman commanded the Jupiter, the ship that brought the Queen to England; and Lord Hood was also struck by the other strange coincidence, that Captain Doyle, who was now in charge of her majesty's remains to convey them from England, was the very midshipman who handed the rope to her majesty on her ascending the man of war that brought her to England. Up to this period no one had communicated to Lord Hood when or how he was to attend the royal corpse. Mr. John Calvert, member of Parliament for Huntingdon, who had made his appearance for the first time this morning, and who was understood to have full powers from government to attend and direct the remainder of this disgraceful proceeding, was observed upon the jetty. Lord Hood turned to this gentleman, and asked if he knew in what manner, he and her late majesty's household were to proceed from Stadt to Brunswick, and afterwards return to England.

Calvert said he knew nothing of the matter. Lord Hood then remonstrated, and said, that ~~what he knew~~ some provision for

their progress and return, he should not proceed. Captain White, of the Tyne frigate, most feelingly and politely assured his lordship he believed a ship of war would attend his lordship's return at Stadt: as to his progress he of course knew nothing; but Mr. Calvert still professed ignorance as to the whole matter. Afterwards, however, Captain White communicated an order from the Admiralty, which satisfied his lordship that a ship would be ready to bring him back. It might have been expected that boats would have been prepared to take him at the time.

A short time afterwards his lordship and his lady, Lady Anne Hamilton, Dr. and Mrs. Lushington, Count Vassali, and young Austin, embarked on board the boats of one of the schooners in the offing, and immediately proceeded to the vessel which had been prepared for their reception, and which, a few minutes after they had reached it, hoisted its sails and left the harbour to join the rest of the squadron.

Such was the beggarly manner in which those who wield the power of Great Britain thought fit to dismiss from its shore the body of their late Queen. But the line of conduct which they in their folly thought it expedient to pursue, served only to render the affection with which the people regarded her remains more clear and perfect by the contrast. The whole population of the neighbouring villages seemed poured out to take their last farewell of this member of the House of

thrown out of the boat to the sailors on the deck by one of the three gentlemen who had it in charge, with no more ceremony than if it had been his cloak. Almost before the body was safe on deck, the sailors were busily employed in unfurling the sails, and in less than ten minutes the Pioneer was under sail to join the Glasgow frigate, which was to carry the royal corpse over to Germany. It was followed part, if not the whole, of the way out to sea by a body of musicians from Ipswich, in a boat, playing funeral marches, the melody of which, softened as it was by being heard over the water, inspired a general melancholy, not inappropriate to the solemnity of the scene.

The schooner reached the Glasgow frigate at half-past four o'clock; the other ships composing the funeral squadron immediately weighed anchor and proceeded to join the Glasgow; the wind was favorable for Germany, and the lessening sails soon disappeared.

The squadron, consisting of the Glasgow frigate, having on board her late majesty's body, and the other vessels accompanying it, arrived at Cuxhaven on Sunday the 19th, at two o'clock p. m., and anchored in the harbour. The Glasgow was no sooner moored, than preparations, which had in part been previously arranged, were made for the removal of the royal corpse to a smaller vessel, suited to the navigation of the Elbe. The Gannet sloop of war was appointed for the latter purpose. It accordingly lay-to at a convenient

Lord Hood, Chief Mourner.

Lady Anne Hamilton, Lady Hood.

Doctor and Mrs. Lushington.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilde.

Mr. W. Austin and Rev. Mr. Wood.

Count Vassali and Lieutenant Hownam.

The various Servants of her late Majesty, two and two.

Forty of the principal Burghers, or Inhabitants of the Town,  
in mourning dresses, two and two.

Military.

The soldiers who were in attendance were the 6th regiment, a detachment of the 8th regiment, and a battalion of artillery.

The procession moved with slowness and solemnity through the principal streets of the town to the church, a distance of about three quarters of a mile. On their approach to the church of St. Wilhadi, the military filed off to the right and left, and the royal coffin and the procession entered amidst a salute of the soldiers.

As soon as the royal coffin was placed on the catafalque or platform before the altar, the organ commenced a solemn dirge, which continued till the mourners had left the church. Around the royal coffin, on the verge of the catafalque, were numerous lighted candles, and on each side of the coffin were placed three large wax candles, in large plated candlesticks, and all of them were kept lighted while the body remained in the church. The church was crowded to excess, and after the mourners had retired, the anxiety of the people to approach the altar was so great,

church on the preceding evening. Six or seven stuhl wagons, hired for the conveyance of the undertakers' men, and other attendants, then brought up the rear. A company of infantry marched before, and another behind the procession. When they came to the first gate at the fortress, a guard of honor stationed there presented arms as the royal corpse passed; after the funeral had come through all the other gates, the infantry guards presented; they were drawn up in rank and file on the side of the road, and, after presenting arms, they marched back into the town. The Hulans then marched on to Buxtehude, where the whole of the parties forming the procession rested that night.

An affecting incident occurred upon the passage from Soltau to Celle. Halting in the middle of the day at the town of Bergen, the mourners entered a house for the purpose of reposing themselves. The commandant of the place, Colonel Friegen, waited upon them, to bid them welcome; but was for some time absolutely unable to speak from emotion. At length in a few words, which sufficiently, however, expressed the nature of his feelings, he told them that, in the very room which they then occupied, he had, in the same month seven years before, received the Queen of England when she came to meet her brother, the late Duke of Brunswick. A vast number of persons who collected inside the house remembered the fact as well as the worthy commandant, and bore testi-

that under the arrangements made (upon which he was bound to act,) the interment was to take place without any previous ceremonial in the way of lying in state; he further stated, that it had been the invariable custom in the family of the Dukes of Brunswick to bury at midnight. Dr. Lushington still refused to acquiesce, on the ground that the mourners attending the funeral, many of whom were ladies, could not prepare themselves so early for the ceremony; it would be impossible that they should enter Brunswick with the procession, and proceed at once to the place of interment. Count Aldenslaben stated, that an immense concourse of persons, who were collected in Brunswick to witness the funeral, would be disappointed if it did not take place on that night; and that, by the regulations laid down, the body, if not buried that night, could not be permitted to enter the walls of the city. It was then agreed that Lord Hood, with Dr. Lushington, Lady Hood, Lady A. Hamilton, Mrs. Lushington, and the remainder of the mourners should at once go forward to Brunswick; that the funeral procession should follow so as to arrive at ten at night at the gates of the city; and that, at that time, the personages attending and officiating should go out to meet it. This arrangement was decided upon. The mourners went forward; and the hearse, with the mourning coaches, continuing its slow and solemn course, arrived about ten o'clock at the outer barrier.

pomp," to put to shame all the elaborate preparations of a College of Heralds.

At ten o'clock on Friday night (August 24), Lord and Lady Hood, Lady Anne Hamilton, Dr. and Mrs. Lushington, and Mr. and Mrs. Wilde, and the other mourners who had previously arrived at Brunswick, were informed that the hearse with the mortal remains of the Queen had arrived at the outer barrier, about a mile distant from the inner barrier, or entrance into the town. They immediately ordered their carriages, and proceeded to the place provided for their reception, which was a large room on the ground-floor of an inn. In the middle of the road opposite the door of the inn stood the hearse, guarded by an escort of the black regiment of Brunswickers, at the head of whom the late Duke, the brother of the Queen, fell gallantly fighting at the battle of Waterloo. It was now eleven o'clock, and Sir G. Nayler was preparing to marshal the procession, when the Grand Chamberlain and the Commandant of the town presented themselves, and desired a few minutes' conversation with Sir George and Mr. Calvert before the procession should begin to move. They stated that they had an urgent request to make, on behalf of the people of Brunswick: it was, that a deputation of respectable citizens might be permitted to draw the funeral car. Mr. Calvert, who from the beginning of the voyage had behaved in a manner at once characteristic of good sense and gentlemanly feeling, immediately assented to what he con-



suppress his disapprobation, and put on his coat; which having done, he slowly entered his coach. The various mourners now ascended their carriages, and an order was given for the procession to move.

The scene that now presented itself, at once solemn and magnificent, baffled all description: no painting could do justice to its striking effect on the eye, no poetry could express the pathos and sublimity of its moral effect on the heart. The whole way from the outer to the inner barrier, a space of little less than a mile in length, and about the breadth of Blackfriars-road, was lined with a dense mass of people, not merely from Brunswick, but from the neighbouring towns and villages: some families had followed the funeral cortege from Celle, and others even from Hamburg. The front lines of this immense assemblage carried torches; and from the double rows of willows on each side of the road were suspended lamps of various colours, green, red, and yellow. In the distance were seen the illuminated houses of Brunswick, adding by the fantastic variety of their architecture to the picturesque beauty of the scene, and by their undecayed antiquity reminding man of the nothingness of his existence, in comparison even with the durability of the commonest works of his own hands. The solemn tolling of the bells, the suppressed sobs of the women, and the deep silence of the men, added an awful and almost painful interest; there

in narrow streets, without alarming, much less hurting, a single individual. — One admirable arrangement was here made, contributing equally to the decorum, and the safety of the scene; and this was the total absence of women from the crowd. Outside the barriers, where the space was very extensive, women as well as men were seen in all parts of the assemblage; but in the streets of Brunswick not a woman was to be seen. The men alone were in the streets, the women were at the windows of the houses; and there was not a house in any street through which the procession passed which had not every window crowded with spectators of the female sex, all dressed in black, and all expressing by their anxious attention the deep interest which they took in the solemn ceremony passing before them.

In this manner the procession moved on to the church, the glare of a thousand torches making every part of it visible to every one of the multitude. At the door of the church a short scene of confusion took place, but no injury ensued. When the hearse reached the church door, the multitude, with a very natural desire to see as much as they could of the funeral rites, endeavoured to enter the church; but as there was no room for them, it was necessary to put them back. Remonstrance, however, was fruitless, for the pressure from behind had now become so great, that it prevented the first line from stepping back: in

was always performed without funeral service, as in the case of the Duke of Brunswick, the father of the late Queen. But this was a mere idle pretence: the late Duke was absolutely interred, and with all funeral ceremonies and services, out of his dominions, during the tyranny of Buonaparte, after whose defeat he was disinterred and removed to Brunswick. The Queen of England had not been so interred: no religious rite had been performed on her; and decency, as well as religion, required that a Queen should not be curtailed of those rites which belong to the funeral of the meanest subject. The love of the people here again made ample compensation for the curtailments of power. Even the officers of state expressed their regret that they were forced to comply with orders manifestly unreasonable and disgusting; and the worthy minister of the cathedral, who loved and venerated the virtues of the late Queen, showed by his manner that he was no party to the official arrangement.

As the corpse passed along the aisle into the place of sepulture, a hundred young ladies of the first families in Brunswick, dressed in white, stood on each side and scattered flowers before it. In a few seconds the coffin and the mourners had all arrived in the family vault of the illustrious House of Brunswick. The entire space is very large, and already contains fifty-seven coffins of different branches of that ancient family. A portion, about seven yards square, was separated

sacred place, and at the coffin of a deceased, whom thy All-wise will once destined for a terrestrial throne, and now, after a rare change of destiny, hast called into the land of eternal peace. With hearts deeply affected do we view the burying-place of this descendant of a beloved and princely family. Thou, her benign Creator, didst adorn her with high advantages of mind and body, and didst bestow upon her a heart full of clemency and benignity. Thy providence placed her, where she could and was resolved to do much good, to the honor of her high family, and for the weal of the country whose Princess she was. Unsearchable, O Eternal, are thy ways! After a transient and troublesome life, she has now finished her earthly career, and her inanimate body returns to the vault where her ever-memorable father, her brother, her relations are resting.

Almighty God! with elevated hearts we glorify thy grace for all the benefits thou hast given to the deceased during her life, and we infinitely revere thy wisdom in the present termination of her severe trials; whereby, after thy most benign intention, she should be purified of human infirmities, and be prepared for a better life. Thanks to thee for the comfort thou hast richly granted her in her last hours! thanks for the great strength thou didst inspire her with, both in her life and in her last moments, to a patient and courageous endurance of her sufferings and grievances! thanks for the hopes strengthened in her soul, wherewith full of desire and serenity and faith, she passed from a mortal to an immortal life! Now may her released soul enjoy the peaceful and blissful tranquillity which this imperfect world cannot grant! and may thy grace, thou all-just and most righteous Lord, recompense her in that state of perfection for what was but deficient here on earth! But to us let her ever-memorable remembrance be a moving and beneficial lesson, thus to believe, thus to hope, thus to live, that we may once courageously pass over to the life of just requital. And now, most gracious God, preserve likewise to us graciously the remaining most beloved members of our princely family,

bore the whole weight of opprobrium, calumny, and persecution, which an infatuated and disappointed ministry could heap upon them. The vengeance of the infuriated junto, smarting and writhing under their late defeat, followed them to the last resting place of her, whose cause they had so nobly espoused, whose battle they had so bravely fought, and whose death they now so sincerely deplored.

The eyes of all Europe, and of the whole civilized world, had long been directed towards this country, watching with an intense anxiety the result of the proceedings which had been instituted against the Queen ; but in no country was that anxiety greater, than in the land in which their injured princess first drew her breath. She had gambolled amongst them as a child ; they had witnessed the dawnings of her gigantic mind ; they had seen the bloom of her youth ; and they had witnessed her departure from her native land, to become the spouse of the first monarch in the world—the remembrance of her virtues, however, remained behind her, and it was that very remembrance which excited in the breast of her compatriots, that strong and ungovernable indignation which afterwards burst forth, at the indignities which were offered to their princess, and the schemes which were planned to ruin her for ever in the eyes of the country, which she had left, and of that, which had adopted her. They followed her in imagination through all her suf-

ferings and her trials. They saw her leave the country of her adoption in hope of happiness and of peace. They saw her seeking for a diversion from her sufferings in the scenes of other countries, and amongst a people who were able to appreciate her merits. But it was with the most boundless indignation, that they still saw hatred continuing to pursue her steps—they beheld the most infernal geniuses surrounding her, whispering calumnious reports—preaching insubordination to her servants, and inviting strangers to be deficient in the attention due to a princess of her exalted rank.

But it is in the hour of adversity that great and noble souls evince their superiority over others. The people of her country saw their princess encountering the horrors of the burning sands of Africa, journeying across the wildest deserts, where the foot of the hardy traveller seldom was known to tread, and enduring those fatigues from which some masculine constitutions would have shrunk with dread. Physical and moral pains were alike unable to damp her courage. Their imagination followed her every where with delight; they saw her visiting the holy spot, the source of our redemption—they saw her bending over His tomb, and following the dictates which He taught on earth, breathing forgiveness to her enemies. They followed her back to Greece—they beheld her on the ruins of Sparta, and of Athens, searching the tombs of

Liberty and Merit, amidst the devastations caused by ignorance and arbitrary power; and they saw her in Italy examining the remains of ancient Rome, meditating on the causes of the destruction of empires, and the progress of the arts.

They finally saw her returning in the dignified character of Queen of England, to become the victim of the foulest conspiracy, which was ever engendered in a civilized country. But they did not mistake the character of the people, into whose hands she had confided all that was dear to her, and on whose magnanimity and generosity she had thrown herself, fearless of the issue of the contest in which she was involved. Dear and valued to her countrymen were then those great and noble souls, who stood by her in her adversity, their children were taught to lisp their names—the German maidens blessed them—and at every social board, their healths were drank with enthusiasm.

The time was now come, when the few worthies, whose names had been as familiar to them as those of their household gods, were to appear before them in person, in the melancholy character of mourners, paying the last tribute of their respect to the memory of their injured Queen. It is amongst the great mass of the people that a true estimate of human actions is to be found; and, although the influence of government may constrain the acts of those who are immediat

dreds of the most respectable dressed individuals assembled before the hotel, and called for Lord Hood, Dr. Lushington, Alderman Wood, &c., and on the appearance of those gentlemen, and likewise the Ladies Hood and Hamilton, they rent the air with their acclamations. They continued there until after twelve o'clock, and then separated with the utmost order. Although they were disappointed in the principal part of their object, yet no disposition to irregularity was manifested. They seemed to be determined to make full amends for the absence of music, by the length and vehemence of their applause. In England, that such a demonstration of popular feelings should be prevented taking place on a Sunday, might be accounted for on the ground of usage and religious considerations; but it is impossible that that cause could have existed at Brunswick, for the Sabbath there is a day of merriment and gladness, and, therefore, it is not difficult to divine the source from which the prohibitory mandate issued.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 25th, an application was made by the executors of the late Queen, to the clergyman of the cathedral church, requesting him to preach a funeral sermon on the following Sunday. The reverend gentleman answered the application by stating that he could not do so without an order from M———, one of the ministers. The executors immediately proceeded to the residence of that minister, for the purpose



of soliciting—not his interference, for that they thought was quite unnecessary—but his permission, which was deemed to be indispensable. They were so unlucky as not to find him at home, and they heard afterwards that he was dining with Sir George Nayler and Mr. Calvert. They paid him a second visit, and succeeded in obtaining an interview. He received them very coldly, and indeed scarcely showed them common civility. As soon as they had mentioned the object of their visit, he abruptly answered, he could give no order, as it was not usual to preach funeral sermons in cases where an address was made by the minister at the time of interment. He was reminded that a funeral sermon had been preached on the late Duke, notwithstanding a previous address; that, he sharply answered, was because he was the reigning prince; adding, “I am answerable for my conduct, not to the executors, but to the regency, and I shall give no order on the subject. This uncourteous refusal was given by the minister, walking with a hurried step about the room, and the executors saw it was vain to oppose arguments to his sovereign decision. Had there been any probability that reasoning would produce any effect, they could have stated, that a funeral sermon, after a previous address, was preached, not only on the late reigning Duke, but on another brother of the Queen’s who died a few months ago, and who, so far from possessing any power, was blind, and almost an idiot.

In the interview which Dr. Lushington and Mr. Wilde had with Mr. Wolff, the clergyman above alluded to, the reverend gentleman spoke of the late Queen in terms of almost parental affection. The venerable man had been her early religious instructor and he mentioned the amiable qualities she displayed in her infancy and youth, in terms of the highest eulogium. He said, "When she last visited Brunswick, in 1814, immediately on her arrival she sent for me, and she received me with such affection, and with an artlessness of manner so peculiarly her own, that I could not help throwing myself upon my knees at her feet, and blessing God, that though so many years had elapsed, and her outward circumstances so materially changed, she was yet the creature of that endearing simplicity that so much delighted me in my early years." Tears gushed from the eyes of the good old man as he told the interesting tale.

On Sunday, the 26th, at nine o'clock, Lord and Lady Hood, Lady Anne Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and other friends of her late majesty, with most of her household, attended divine service in the cathedral. The venerable clergyman appeared in a scarf, and, in the latter end of his discourse, alluded in the most affecting manner to the life and sufferings of the illustrious lady, whose remains on the preceding morning had been consigned to the tomb. The following is an extract from the sermon.

We, too, dear fellow citizens, have been so happy as to have sovereigns who revered religion, and in our princely family we were always edified with the spectacle of an enlightened piety. We frequently saw its members worshipping God in our sacred congregations. They joined as fellow believers, and gave us an endearing example of true devotion and pious zeal. And what a beneficial influence had this on our attachment to them, and in their behaviour towards us. Sincere piety made our princes just sovereigns, lovers of mankind, patterns of gentleness and benevolence.

Here I may be allowed to make mention of the high deceased, whose earthly remains we all lately followed to the vault. She is still deeply impressed on your memory, and your looks lead me to speak again of her whom your hearts lament. She, too, the daughter of the venerable Charles William Frederic, was an enlightened and warm votary of religion. Before I filled the situation which I now hold, she was from her tender infancy instructed in Christianity by a worthy teacher, and solemnly confirmed in it. Her quick understanding eagerly received every ray of divine truth, and her warm heart and lively feelings were excited and elevated by piety. Her sense of religion increased to a confirmed faith, and she resolutely resolved to exercise the duties which it enjoined. Pious occupations were dear to her heart. I knew her as an enlightened Christian before she left the country of her birth. She first received from my hands, with pious emotion, the holy Supper of our Lord, and the solemnity of her manner was like her previous devotions, an unsuspected proof of her sincere faith and pious feeling. She was then qualified, for her destination to become queen of a noble nation, distinguished by its religious zeal, and its sacred regard to the days dedicated to God. The sense of religion, it is true, did not always preserve her from infirmities and errors, but where is the mortal, where has there been a saint, who has been always perfect? And he who erred less, may conscientiously ask himself, whether he owes it to himself, or to his more fortunate situation, and the undeserved grace of God?

Let us not forget the good with which religion endowed her

understanding and her heart, combining itself in her disposition and behaviour, her distinguished benevolence, her affability, her unbounded desire to protect mankind, her love of righteousness, her generosity, and her forgiving disposition; these sublime virtues of the Christian have always been allowed her, and the strength of her religion appeared especially in her last trying days. You yourselves, my brethren, have read the description of her earthly end. You know, then, with what resignation and courage she bore her last severe sufferings, how she refrained from every complaint, what touching proofs of the meekness of her heart she gave in her last moments—how she exhibited every virtue of a Christian—with what holy and confident hope she passed from this world to eternity.

May God's eternal peace rest on her glorified spirit, and comfort her, after the endurance of her earthly woes, with the joys of salvation.

At this part of the address, many of the male, and almost the whole of the female part of the audience were in tears. Considerable surprise and much indignation were manifested by the public, in finding that all the emblems of mourning were removed from the tomb.

Many of the most respectable inhabitants were in mourning, but numbers were deterred, much against their inclination, from the fear of offending the higher authorities. It was confidently asserted, that the most positive instructions had been issued by the government, prohibiting any external marks of respect.

On Monday the 27th, much bustle was manifested at an early hour, before the Hotel d'Angleterre, and a considerable concourse of people arrived, and there took their stations. About half-

gracious majesty George the Third, I received from her several letters from the Continent, intimating her determined resolution of proceeding to England, and, regardless of consequences, to assert her claim to all the rights and privileges of her high station, and stating the unpleasant situation in which she then found herself placed. In consequence I hastened to her, and the noble magnanimity with which she spurned the offered bribe of fifty thousand pounds a-year, to remain from England, neither time nor circumstance can ever efface from my memory. Her only fear was, that compulsory measures would be adopted to hinder her proceeding. Nor were those fears allayed till she stepped on English ground. She was received with open arms by that great and generous people, who, under all her trials, remained her unshaken friends. She had enemies, it is true, and those enemies Englishmen! She is now, happily for herself, released from all the wretchedness to which she here was subject. The heavy afflictions she has borne are now for ever over; and although we, who enjoyed the honour of her intimacy, must long feel our irreparable loss, yet to her it is a happy release. She died, gentlemen, as a Christian should die. The day before the one on which she breathed her last, when, on being removed from her bed to a chair, as I was standing by her side, she repeatedly and fervently declared, that she forgave all her enemies the cruelties that had brought her to the bed of death.

By the instructions that government had thought proper to issue respecting her funeral, I was prohibited attending as a mourner from England. I therefore have travelled at my own expense, to pay this last tribute of respect to one I so highly revered.

For acting as I have done, I have been assailed with innumerable calumnies; but while the illustrious deceased pleased to honour me with her confidence, nothing on earth should have induced me to have withdrawn from her any token of attachment that it was in my limited power to show.

I again, gentlemen, return you my most sincere thanks for the pleasing testimony of your approbation of my public conduct; and likewise for your personal good wishes.

Immediately after the deputation had withdrawn, the worthy Alderman, accompanied by his son, the Rev. J. P. Wood, left Brunswick for Hanover.

It was in contemplation by the inhabitants of Brunswick, that the foregoing addresses should be presented by a far more numerous deputation, and in a style of much greater magnificence; but from the decided part taken by the court, prudence was so opposed to this inclination, that they were compelled to abandon their intention. Very numerous private messages were sent both to Lord Hood and Alderman Wood, from gentlemen of the first respectability, alleging what has already been alluded to, as the only reason that prevented their paying their personal respects, and assuring them how deeply they commiserated the sufferings of their late illustrious princess, and honoured all her friends.

The opinion of the Brunswickers, and, indeed, the opinion of the inhabitants of every part of Germany, not under the immediate influence of this government, was exactly in unison with the popular feeling in England.

It is universally allowed, that the reception given to the remains of Queen Caroline was a national disgrace, and that years will not wipe away the stain. It was the general lament at Brunswick, that the young prince had not assumed the reins of government, or matters would have been managed in a much more decorous and becoming manner.

It was evidently not the intention of government that the bells should toll, nor that the places of public amusement should be closed. Popular indignation was, however, so strongly expressed, that if orders to the contrary had been contemplated, they were not enforced; the people, with an almost unanimous voice, declared that they would burst open the doors of the churches and, at whatever peril, toll the bells; and an elderly gentleman, a merchant of considerable opulence in the town, conceiving that money would be an essential object in effecting the public wishes, instantly put down the sum of two hundred dollars. "I knew," said he, "the illustrious deceased in her infancy, and I have since venerated her sorrows, and nothing that I can do shall be wanting to give her remains a due reception in her native town."

In this manner closed the funeral obsequies of the ill-fated Caroline, Queen of England; but although she now rests in the silence of her grave, beyond the reach and persecution of her enemies, still there are some evil spirits who stalk abroad, and with the pestiferous breath of calumny, seek to blacken her memory. The emphatic words of the royal victim were, "They have destroyed me!" and having so well achieved their diabolical designs, it might be supposed that human nature could not possess such inherent turpitude as to follow her, now that she is in her grave, with every species of obloquy and re-

proach. Let us, however, speak to these people, and tell them, that not a day elapses without some link of the horrid chain being discovered by which the unfortunate Queen of England was to be bound in infamy and ignominy during the remainder of her life, had it pleased Heaven to grant her a protracted existence.

The following authentic statement of the means which were employed to obtain evidence against her majesty, will be perused with uncommon interest, and it imparts an additional shade to the already too gloomy picture which we have been so long contemplating.

The principal actress in the following scene is the Baroness de Boisouvray, a lady not more conspicuous for her splendid talents, than for the interest which she took in every thing which had the slightest reference to the fate of Queen Caroline.

The baroness happened to be at Paris when the celebrated Bergami visited that city, and the following is the interesting recital which we now transmit to the consideration of the English people, being well assured that the impression which it will make will not be easily effaced.

"I heard," says the Baroness, "that Signor Bergami was at Paris. A person who was well acquainted with my ardent wishes for the Queen, came to tell me that she had passed the preceding evening in Baron Bergami's company, and that she should meet him again that same day. As I



longed very much to see him, I asked for his direction, and being informed that he was at the Hotel de Frescati, *Rue de Richelieu*, I instantly wrote to him in the following terms:—

‘ I hear that Baron Bergami is in Paris ; I should be very much gratified if he would favor me with a call.’

“ A few moments afterwards, I had the satisfaction of seeing him in my dwelling. He was accompanied by a gentleman who appeared his friend.

“ Sir,” said I, “ I crave your pardon for the liberty I took of writing to you, and requesting you to call upon me, though unknown to you, but my motive was this: on the 21st of March, I sent to Mr. Senn Guebhard, a banker at Leghorn, a work which I wished to present to her Majesty the Queen of England, along with the first articles which appeared in her behalf in the public papers, and which I myself caused to be inserted. On the 27th of April I received an answer, purporting that as her majesty was at Rome, my parcel had been transmitted, and recommended to the Duke of Tortonia, with whom the banker corresponded. I have had no other information since that time, and should like to know whether her majesty has vouchsafed to honor my humble homage with a favorable reception.”

“ I cannot inform you, Madam,” replied Signor Bergami, “ whether her majesty received the

*port you have heard of her, is the work of that infernal Commission which is supported by calumny."*

"Our conversation then turned to the travels of the Queen, to her great qualities, the extent of her information, and, above all, to the good she had done to the unfortunate of every country she visited. Signor Bergami told me, that he had never known a mistress more kind to the persons of her household. He added, that those of her servants who suffered themselves to be bribed by the Milan Commission, had been loaded with kindness by the Queen; that it was because he had saved her majesty's life, and that he was one of those in whom she could place a perfect reliance that she had made his fortune, and raised him so high, and that his gratitude should be eternal and his devotedness unbounded."

The interview of the Baroness with Bergami, was in itself a circumstance of no striking peculiarity, it was, however, the forerunner of a scene, which cannot fail to make its due impression on the minds of the English people.

The Baroness says, "I shall not relate all preceding circumstances that probably gave rise to the fact which I am going to publish. As they may be of use to me, in case my account should be doubted, I will reserve them for another opportunity. On the 15th of September I was going to pay a visit to the wife of a colonel who lives in the *Rue de Joubert*; I had taken the longest road by the *Rue de la Pair*, along the *Boulevards*.

On that part of the Boulevard, between the *Rue de la Paix* and the Chinese Baths, are some print-shops, at which I stopped for a moment, to examine some prints. A gentleman came up, and looking at the portraits of the Queen of England and of Signor Bergami, remarked in a loud voice, how striking the likenesses of both were\*. I could not help glancing at the person who made this remark, and I was about to continue my walk, when the same individual accosted me, saying,

"Pray, Madam, are you not the Baroness de Boisouvray?"

"Yes, Sir," I replied.

"I beg your pardon, Madam, for taking the liberty of addressing you without having the honour of being known to you, but it is in your power to render me a service."

"In what, Sir?"

"I have heard that you have seen Signor Bergami at your house, a short time before his departure. I suppose you are still in correspondence with him, and could favour me with his direction."

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\* In the French edition is the following note, the tenor of which is highly complimentary to the publisher of this work.—

"*Ces estampes sont publiées par KELLY, à Londres et attachées aux Mémoires de la Reine d'Angleterre, écrit par ROBERT HUISE.*"

*glice.*—These engravings are published by KELLY of  
and are affixed to the Memoirs of the Queen of Eng-  
HUISE.

"You are mistaken," I answered, "I have not his direction."

"I continued my walk, greatly surprised at what had just occurred, and I was still more astonished, when the same individual accosting me once more, said,

"Madam, I am going to speak to you without reserve. I am positively informed that you have seen Bergami. It is more than probable that you have conversed about the Queen. You are a sensible lady ; you must have easily judged by his manner of expressing himself, of his situation and intimacy with the Queen."

"Since you interrogate me on the subject," I replied, "I think it is a sacred duty to inform you, that I have actually seen Signor Bergami at my house, that I had a conversation with him respecting the Queen, during which he constantly expressed himself with all the respect of a servant humbly devoted to her majesty. I must, however, observe, that if I answer your questions, it is merely to pay homage to truth, and I beg to assure you, that had he expressed himself otherwise, I should not have informed you of what he said. But may I ask you, Sir, who you are, to make such inquiries of me?"

"Had you consented," he replied with a malicious grin, "to give me some details to prove the charges brought against the Queen, you would have had no reason to complain of being kept ignorant of my name ; *for there are no sacrifices*

*that would not be made to convince the nation of the misconduct of the Queen\*."*

"You are addressing yourself in a wrong quarter, Sir," I answered. "Go some where else to fulfil your contemptible mission." And he freed me from his contemptible presence.

"I was at first excessively angry, that any one durst have made me such a proposal; but reflection soon showed me, that instead of being vexed, I ought to have thanked heaven for being enabled to bring to light the means of seduction that were employed to procure false witnesses against the Queen. I therefore wrote two days after, that is, on the 17th of September, to Mr. Brougham, to inform him of what had happened."

With the exposure of this infamous transaction, so disgraceful, so disreputable to every principle of an enlightened government, and to the dictates of fair and honorable dealing, we close our Memoirs of the injured Queen of England. In the annals of Britain, her life will form a most conspicuous part; and our children's children will point to her treatment as one of the foulest blots which stain the pages of it.

Eventful and extraordinary was her life—memorable and lamentable was her death. Ejected at an early period of life from the connubial state, with a stigma upon her which she had not the

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\* This is literally translated from the French. *Car il n'est plus de sacrifices qu'on ne puisse faire pour convaincre la nation des torts de la Reine.*

means of doing away, and with manners avowedly frank and lively, whatever they might or might not have been in other respects, she soon found herself beset with eyes wishing to find fault, and with servants whom to lord it over was not in her nature, and whom to offend or dismiss was to render the more vindictive for the previous kindness. A charge of illegal familiarity with the other sex was soon brought against her. The same ministers who ruled the destinies of the nation in 1820, defended her from the attack which was made upon her, and their triumph was complete ; but at the same time, in order that her husband and herself might not have two jarring and jealous establishments in each other's neighbourhood, she was advised by Mr. Canning to go out of the country ; Mr. Whitbread, her best, her ablest, and her staunchest friend, advised her not to go ; but the ministers prevailed, and to the last moment of her eventful life she regretted that she had ever followed their advice. Her royal highness proceeded to the Continent, and there found every legitimate court and courtesy in Europe shut against her. Not that the character or the morals of her royal highness would have obtained any great accession of purity by an intercourse with some of the German courts—the large ones are proud and pompous, the middle ones inclined to liberality, the petty ones vulgar, and all, generally speaking, as licentious as courts are apt to be. For when courts are licentious

they are truly so, they know of no medium, that is to say, they are exceedingly worldly and hypocritical; upholding the religion and morals which they think necessary to them in public, and contradicting them with double wilfulness in private. During her temporary residence in these courts, the observant eyes began to renew their work. Her looks, her gestures, her actions, even her correspondence, were all minutely watched. A freedom of manners was construed into an indecorous familiarity, and a look or a benevolent action towards one not of her own sex, was instantly converted into a positive display of a lawless passion. An animal not to be found in Buffon, or in the writings of any naturalist, but for the description of which we must refer to Mr. Brougham's speech on the trial, sets himself down, month after month, at Milan, to watch at her doors and windows, to intercept discarded servants and others, who knew what a deposition might be worth, and thus to gather poison for one of those venomous Green Bags, which have so long infected and nauseated the people, and which were now destined to infect the Queen.

In the mean time, the event, which had not been left out in the contemplation of these animals arrived. Her father-in-law dies, and she thereby inherited rights in common with her husband, and claimed them accordingly. But these claims were even denied to her abroad. She then announced her intention of coming to England, and

every studied neglect, every possible mode of breaking and thwarting her spirit, was practised by the very men who, on a former occasion, were her warm advocates, and who actually bore her triumphantly through the battle which was then waged against her honour and her fame. The most common, the most popular, and the most sacred maxim of English law, was violated in her especial disfavour. She was treated as guilty before she was tried and found so. She was not only kept out of foreign courts, as if none were to be found there but the unaccused and the guiltless, and as if they had not contained some of the mere refuse of human kind, but all official Englishmen abroad were instructed to avoid her. Her name was struck out of the Liturgy—she was even refused a packet-boat to return home in—and a sum of fifty thousand a year was offered her to keep quiet, upon conditions and threats that she ought not to have received a penny. She answers, “I can negotiate no further but in London;” and to London she accordingly comes, amidst the acclamations of the people, and is obliged to take up her residence in the house of a private gentleman. It was an act that could not be forgiven her—it was actually bearding the lion in his own den, and every engine which the most powerful government in the world could employ was set in motion to crush for ever—a woman, and a Queen. The hateful and obnoxious Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought into parliament, but it failed, and great was the triumph of her majesty, in



consequence. One act, however, still remained, which it was well known would inflict a deep and rankling wound upon her high and noble spirit, and this was, her expulsion from all participation in the ceremony of the coronation, to which, as England's Queen, she was justly entitled. The arrow that was shot reached its mark. The insults, the indignities, that had been heaped upon her, had been hitherto borne with a noble and unbending spirit; but there is a point beyond which human forbearance cannot go—that point had been gained—and the mind which had hitherto, like the firm rock in the ocean, breasted every billow which the fury of her assailants had directed against her, gave way at last to the accumulated waves of oppression which rushed on with an overpowering force, and she sunk the victim of tyranny, hatred, and injustice.

Such is the epitome of the life of Caroline the injured Queen of England. In the history of the country her persecutions and her trial will appear in blots never to be wiped away; and ages will elapse before the wounds are closed, which her sufferings and her injuries have inflicted upon the minds of a noble but indignant people.

She now sleeps with her fathers, in the tomb of the heroes of her family; and in the bosom of her God, let us fervently pray that she has found that peace, which was denied to her on earth.

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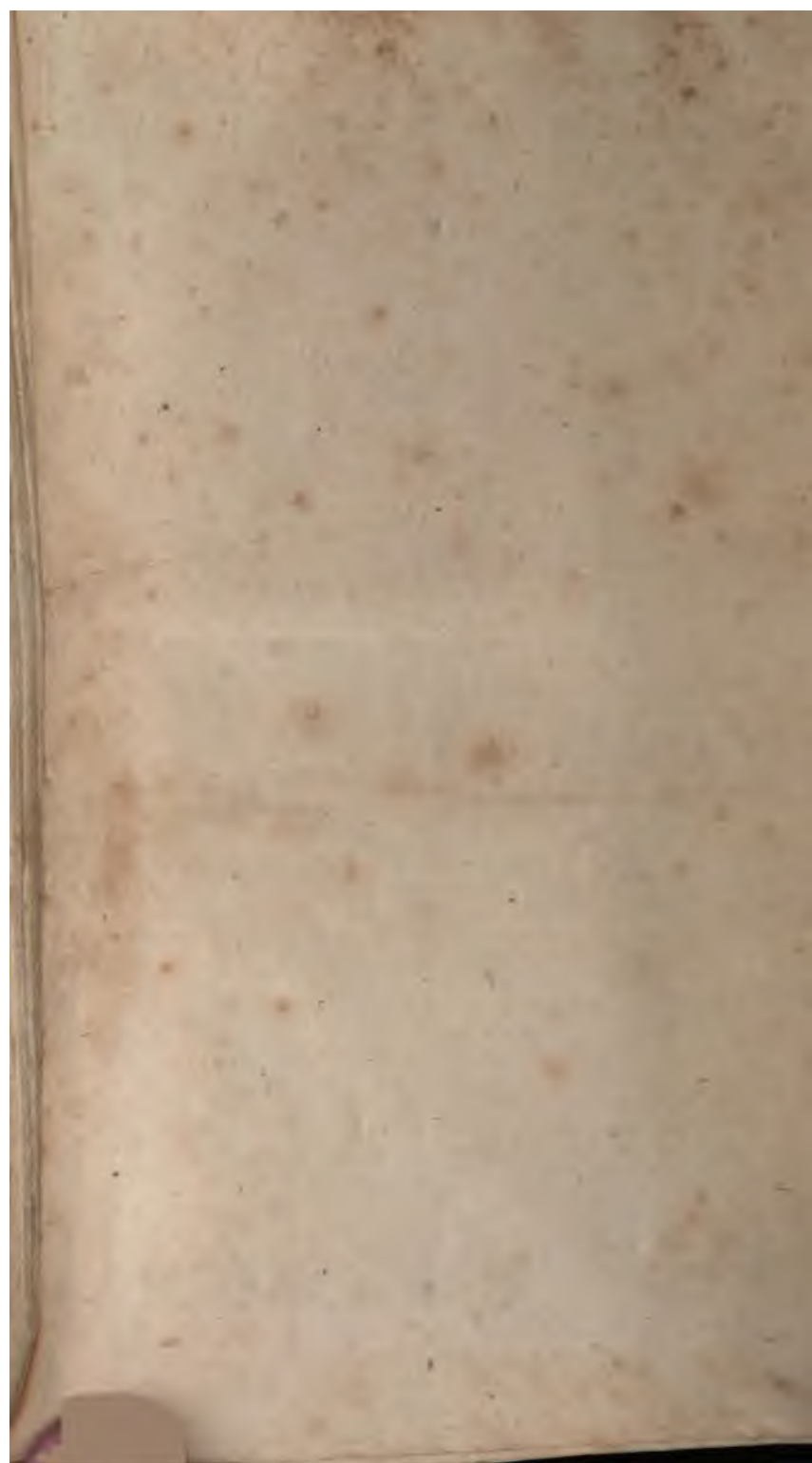
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